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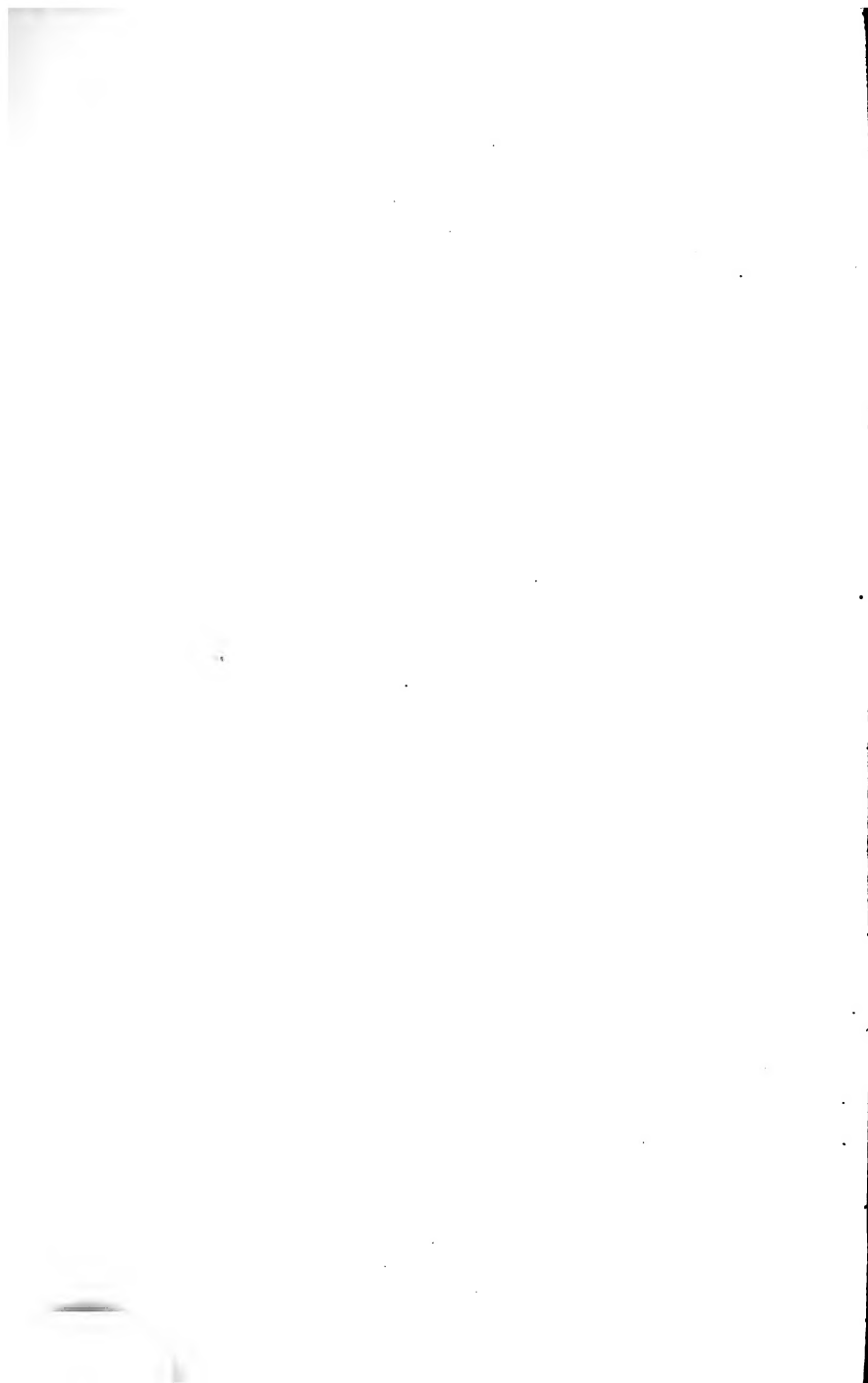


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# SELECT ORATIONS

OF

## LYSIAS.

EDITED BY

JAMES MORRIS WHITON, PH.D.,

AUTHOR OF "FIRST LESSONS IN GREEK," ETC.

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BOSTON:  
GINN BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS.  
1875.

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## PREFACE.

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THAT the writings of Lysias have hitherto been so little used by American students must be due rather to the lack of American editions, — though of German editions there is no lack. Certainly it is not attributable to any inferiority, either in merit of style or in interest of subject, in those specimens of his numerous orations which have come down to us. Such was his ancient fame, that nearly twice as many orations as he actually composed were ascribed to him. The large number of two hundred and thirty orations was accepted by the ancient critics as genuinely his, of which there are now extant only thirty-four, not all either complete or indisputably genuine, and a still larger number of fragments.

As a representative of the purest Attic style, Lysias has no superior. Among the ancients he was regarded as a model of that quality called *ισχυρότης*, or *tenuitas*, — for which see *Biographical Introduction*. He was also highly esteemed for a certain gracefulness of expression, which was regarded as a characteristic peculiarly his. At the same time, he showed no lack of energy, as Cicero observes: "In Lysia sæpe sunt etiam lacerti sic ut fieri nihil possit valentius." (*Brutus*, 16, 64.) In general, his style may be further characterized as clear, sufficient and precise; always natural and appropriate;

at once simple and dignified ; not devoid of rhetorical ornament, and yet carefully subordinating it to the orator's practical purpose. The tradition that only two of all the orations which he composed for others were unsuccessful, whether exaggerated or not, marks the height of the fame which he attained among the orators of Athens, and harmonizes with the exalted praise which Cicero himself bestows : "Tum fuit Lysias, ipse quidem in causis forensibus non versatus, sed egregie subtilis scriptor atque elegans, quem jam probe audeas oratorem perfectum dicere." (*Brutus*, 9, 35.)

The orations comprised in this edition were all composed within the ten years subsequent to the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants from Athens, B. C. 403. While they all bear the marks of their times, the oration against Eratosthenes, in particular, abounds in references to that painfully interesting portion of the history of Athens, which exhibits her imperial democracy, exhausted, despoiled, and bleeding, in its humiliating decline and pitiable overthrow. A special interest attaches to this oration, also, from its being the only one of all the extant number which Lysias delivered himself, — the others having been composed for his clients to deliver from memory in pleading their own cases before various tribunals.

For a sketch of Lysias's life and professional work, see the *Biographical Introduction*.

The text of this edition is substantially that of Dr. R. Rauchenstein's sixth edition, Berlin, 1872. Where any variation occurs, suitable reference is made in the Notes. A table of various readings has been added. In the preparation of the Notes free use has been made of the notes of Rauchenstein, and, to some extent, of the notes of Frohberger, in his first and third volumes, Leipsic, 1866 and 1871. For a large part of the annotations, however, the present editor is alone

responsible. Geographical, historical, and archæological points have been treated, it is hoped, comprehensively enough to meet the necessities of those students who are not supplied with the more costly works for reference, and yet not so minutely as to make such further reference undesirable. For the benefit of those who, in an earlier part of their course, have used Goodwin's *Greek Reader*, occasional references are made to that book, as containing extracts from Xenophon's *Hellenica* covering the same part of Athenian history as the Oration against Eratosthenes. Grammatical references have been made to Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*, third edition (G.), Hadley's (larger) *Greek Grammar* (H.), and to Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses*, sixth edition, revised (G.), the last named of which is by no means to be supposed unnecessary to the possessor of either or both of the other two. As to other references, some citations have been made from Buttmann's *University Grammar*, Harper's Ed., also from Grote's *History of Greece*, Harper's Ed., 12 vols., and from Curtius's *History of Greece*, Scribner's Ed., 5 vols.

The editor's grateful acknowledgments are due to his friends, Dr. Lewis R. Packard, Professor of Greek at Yale, and Mr. John Williams White, Tutor in Greek at Harvard, for their valuable suggestions in the undertaking and execution of the work.

LYNN, September, 1875.



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# ΛΥΣΙΑΣ.



XVI.

ΕΝ ΒΟΤΑΗΙ

## ΜΑΝΤΙΘΕΩΙ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ.

Εἰ μὴ συνῆδεν, ὦ βουλή, τοῖς κατηγοροῖς βουλομέ-  
νοις ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, πολλὴν ἂν  
αὐτοῖς χάριν εἶχον ταύτης τῆς κατηγορίας· ἡγοῦμαι  
γὰρ τοῖς ἀδίκως διαβεβλημένοις τούτους εἶναι μεγί-  
στων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους, οἵτινες ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζωσιν  
εἰς ἔλεγχον τῶν αὐτοῖς βεβιωμένων καταστήναι. ἐγὼ 2  
γὰρ οὕτω σφόδρα ἐμαυτῷ πιστεύω, ὥστ' ἐλπίζω καὶ  
εἴ τις πρὸς με τυγχάνει ἀηδῶς [ἢ κακῶς] διακείμενος,  
ἐπειδὰν ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ἀκούσῃ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων,  
μεταμελήσειν αὐτῷ καὶ πολὺ βελτίω με εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν  
χρόνον ἡγήσεσθαι. ἀξιῶ δέ, ὦ βουλή, εἶναι μὲν τοῦτο 3  
μόνον ὑμῖν ἀποδείξω, ὡς εὖνους εἰμὶ τοῖς καθεστηκόσι  
πράγμασι καὶ ὡς ἠνάγκασμαι τῶν αὐτῶν κινδύνων με-  
τέχειν ὑμῖν, μηδέν πῶ μοι πλέον εἶναι· εἰ δὲ φαί-  
νωμαι καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα μετρίως βεβιωκὼς καὶ πολὺ



# ΛΥΣΙΑΣ.



XVI.

ΕΝ ΒΟΤΑΗΙ

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γὰρ οὕτω σφόδρα ἐμαυτῷ πιστεύω, ὥστ' ἐλπίζω καὶ  
εἴ τις πρὸς με τυγχάνει ἀηδῶς [ἢ κακῶς] διακείμενος,  
ἐπειδὴν ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ἀκούσῃ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων,  
μεταμελήσειν αὐτῷ καὶ πολὺ βελτίω με εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν  
χρόνον ἡγήσεσθαι. ἀξιῶ δέ, ὦ βουλή, εἰάν μὲν τοῦτο <sup>2</sup>  
μόνον ὑμῖν ἀποδείξω, ὥς εὖνους εἰμὶ τοῖς καθεστηκόσι  
πράγμασι καὶ ὥς ἠνάγκασμαι τῶν αὐτῶν κινδύνων με-  
τέχειν ὑμῖν, μηδέν πῶ μοι πλεόν εἶναι· εἰάν δὲ φαί-  
νωμαι καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα μετρίως βεβιωκῶς καὶ πολὺ

παρὰ τὴν δόξαν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν, δέομαι ὑμῶν ἐμὲ μὲν δοκιμάζειν, τούτους δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι χεῖρους εἶναι. πρῶτον δὲ ἀποδείξω ὡς οὐχ ἵππευον [οὐτ' ἐπεδήμουν] ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα, οὐδὲ μετέσχον τῆς τότε πολιτείας.

- 4 Ἡμᾶς γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ συμφορᾶς ὡς Σάτυρον τὸν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ διαιτησομένους ἐξέπεμψε, καὶ οὔτε τῶν τειχῶν καθαιρουμένων ἐπεδήμουν οὔτε μεθισταμένης τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλ' ἦλθομεν πρὶν τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατελθεῖν πρὸς
- 5 τερὸν πένθ' ἡμέραις. καίτοι οὔτε ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἦν εἰς τοιοῦτον καιρὸν ἀφιγμένους ἐπιθυμεῖν μετέχειν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κινδύνων, οὐτ' ἐκεῖνοι φαίνονται τοιαύτην γνώμην ἔχοντες ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἀποδημοῦσι καὶ μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνουσι μεταδιδόναι τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡτίμαζον καὶ τοὺς συγκαταλύσαντας τὸν δῆμον.
- 6 Ἐπειτα δὲ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ σανιδίου τοὺς ἱππεύσαντας σκοπεῖν εὐθὲς ἐστίν· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ὁμολογούντων ἱππεύειν οὐκ ἔναισιν, ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ἀποδημούντων ἐγγεγραμμένοι εἰσίν. ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐστὶν ἔλεγχος μέγιστος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ κατήλθετε, ἐψηφίσασθε τοὺς φυλάρχους ἀπενεγχεῖν τοὺς ἱππεύσαντας, ἵνα τὰς κατα
- 7 στάσεις ἀναπράξῃτε παρ' αὐτῶν. ἐμὲ τοίνυν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀποδείξειεν οὐτ' ἀπενεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων οὔτε παραδοθέντα τοῖς συνδίοις [οὔτε κατύστασιν καταβαλόντα]. καίτοι πᾶσι ῥᾷδιον τοῦτο γινῶναι, ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῖς φυλάρχοις, εἰ μὴ ἀποδείξειαν τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰς καταστάσεις, αὐτοῖς ζημιοῦσθαι. ὥστε

πολὺν ἂν δικαιότερον ἐκείνοις τοῖς γράμμασιν ἢ τούτοις πιστεύετε· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τούτων ῥάδιον ἦν ἐξαλειφθῆναι τῷ βουλομένῳ, ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τοὺς ἰππεύσαντας ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων ἀπενεχθῆναι. Ἔτι δέ, ὦ βουλή, εἴπερ ἵππευσα, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἕξαρνος ὡς δεινόν τι πεποιηκώς, ἀλλ' ἡξίου, ἀποδείξας ὡς οὐδεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τῶν πολιτῶν κακῶς πέπονθε, δοκιμάζεσθαι. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ χρωμένους, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν τότε ἰππευσάντων βουλευόντας, πολλοὺς δ' αὐτῶν στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἱππάρχους κεχειροτονημένους. ὥστε μηδὲν δι' ἄλλο με ἡγείσθε ταύτην ποιέισθαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἢ ὅτι περιφανῶς ἐτόλμησάν μου καταψεύσασθαι. Ἀνύβηθι δέ μοι καὶ μαρτύρησον.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.

Περὶ μὲν τοίνυν αὐτῆς τῆς αἰτίας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ πλείω λέγειν· δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ὦ βουλή, ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγῶσι περὶ αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν κατηγορημένων προσθήκειν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δοκιμασίαις δίκαιον εἶναι παντὸς τοῦ βίου λόγον διδόναι. δέομαι οὖν ὑμῶν μετ' εὐνοίας ἀκροάσασθαι μου. ποιήσομαι δὲ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι διὰ βραχυτάτων.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν οὐσίας μοι οὐ πολλῆς καταλειφθείσης διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως, δύο μὲν ἀδελφὰς ἐξέδωκα, ἐπιδούς τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἑκατέρᾳ, πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν δ' οὕτως ἐνειμάμην ὥστ' ἐκείνῳ πλέον ὁμολογεῖν ἔχειν ἐμοῦ

τῶν πατρῶων, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οὕτω  
 βεβίωκα ὥστε μηδεπώποτε μοι μηδὲ πρὸς ἓνα μηδὲν  
 11 ἔγκλημα γενέσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια οὕτω διάκκηκα·  
 περὶ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν μοι μέγιστον ἡγοῦμαι τεκμήριον  
 εἶναι τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιεικειάς, ὅτι τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσοι περὶ  
 κύβους ἢ πότους ἢ ἐτέρας τοιαύτας ἀκολασίας τυγχά-  
 νουσι τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενοι, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὄψεσθὲ  
 μοι διαφόρους ὄντας, καὶ πλείστα τούτους περὶ ἐμοῦ  
 λογοποιοῦντας καὶ ψευδομένους. καίτοι δῆλον ὅτι, εἰ  
 τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπεθυμοῦμεν, οὐκ ἂν τοιαύτην γνώμην εἶχον  
 12 περὶ ἐμοῦ. ἔτι δ', ὦ βουλή, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀποδείξει περὶ  
 ἐμοῦ δύναιτο οὔτε δίκην αἰσχρὰν οὔτε γραφὴν οὔτε  
 εἰσαγγελίαν γεγεννημένην· καίτοι ἐτέρους ὁρᾶτε πολ-  
 λάκις εἰς τοιούτους ἀγῶνας καθεστηκότας. πρὸς τοί-  
 νυν τὰς στρατείας καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς  
 πολεμίους σκέψασθε οἷον ἐμαυτὸν παρέχω τῇ πόλει.  
 13 πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὅτε τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσασθε πρὸς  
 [τοὺς] Βοιωτοὺς καὶ εἰς Ἀλιάρταν ἔδει βοηθεῖν, ὑπὸ  
 Ὀρθοβούλου κατειλεγμένος ἱππεύειν, ἐπειδὴ πάντας  
 ἐώρων τοῖς μὲν ἱππεύουσιν ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι [δεῖν]  
 νομίζοντας, τοῖς δ' ὀπλίταις κίνδυνον ἡγουμένους, ἐτέ-  
 ρων ἀναβάντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀδοκιμάστων παρὰ  
 τὸν νόμον ἐγὼ προσελθὼν ἔφην τῷ Ὀρθοβούλῳ ἔξα-  
 λείψαί με ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, ἡγούμενος αἰσχρὸν εἶναι  
 τοῦ πλήθους μέλλοντος κινδυνεύειν ἄδειαν ἐμαυτῷ πα-  
 ρασκευάσαντι στρατεῦεσθαι. Καί μοι ἀνάβηθι, Ὀρθό-  
 βουλε.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ. .

Συλλεγέντων τοίνυν τῶν δημοτῶν πρὸ τῆς ἐξόδου, 14  
 • εἰδὼς αὐτῶν ἐνίους πολίτας μὲν χρηστοὺς ὄντας καὶ  
 προθύμους, ἐφοδίω δὲ ἀπορούντας, εἶπον ὅτι χρή τοὺς  
 ἔχοντας παρέχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ἀπόρως διακειμέ-  
 νοις. καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῦτο συνεβούλευον τοῖς ἄλλοις,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκα δυοῖν ἀνδροῖν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς  
 ἑκατέρῳ, οὐχ ὥς πολλὰ κεκτημένος, ἀλλ' ἵνα παρά-  
 δειγμα τοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις γένηται. Καί μαι ἀνάβητε,  
 [μάρτυρες.]

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν, ὦ βουλή, εἰς Κόρινθον ἐξόδου 15  
 γενομένης καὶ πάντων προειδόντων ὅτι δεήσει κινδυνεύ-  
 ει, ἐτέρων ἀναδυομένων ἐγὼ διεπραξάμην ὥστε τῆς  
 πρώτης τεταγμένος μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις· καὶ μύ-  
 λιστα τῆς ἡμετέρας φυλῆς δυστυχησάσης, καὶ πλείστων  
 ἀποθανόντων, ὕστερος ἀνεχώρησα τοῦ σεμοῦ Στειριῶς  
 τοῦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δειλίαν ὠνειδικότος. καὶ οὐ πολ- 16  
 λαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν Κορίνθῳ χωρίων  
 ἰσχυρῶν κατειλημμένων, ὥστε τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ δύνα-  
 σθαι προσιέναι, Ἀγησιλάου δ' εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐμβα-  
 λόντος, ψηφισαμένων τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀποχωρίσαι τάξεις  
 αἵτινες βοηθήσουσι, φοβουμένων ἀπάντων (εἰκότως, ὦ  
 βουλή· δεινὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀγαπητῶς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον σεσω-  
 σμένους ἐφ' ἑτερον κίνδυνον ἵεναι) προσελθὼν ἐγὼ τὸν  
 ταξίαρχον ἐκέλευον ἀκληρωτὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν τάξιν πέμ-  
 πειν. ὥστ' εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ὀργίζονται τοῖς τὰ μὲν 17  
 τῆς πόλεως ἀξιούσι πράττειν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κινδύνων



ἀποδιδράσκουσιν, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως περὶ ἐμοῦ τὴν γνώ-  
μην ταύτην ἔχοιεν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ προσταττόμενα  
ἐποιοῦν προθύμως, ἀλλὰ καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐτόλμων. καὶ  
ταυτ' ἐποιοῦν οὐχ ὥς οὐ δεινὸν ἡγούμενος εἶναι Λακε-  
δαιμονίοις μύχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἵνα, εἴ ποτε ἀδίκως εἰς κίν-  
δυνον καθισταίμην, διὰ ταῦτα βελτίων ὑφ' ὑμῶν νομιζό-  
μενος ἀπάντων τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνοιμι. Καί μοι  
ἀνάβητε τούτων μάρτυρες.

## MARTYRES.

18 Τῶν τοίνυν ἄλλων στρατειῶν καὶ φρουρῶν οὐδεμιᾶς  
ἀπελείφθην πώποτε, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον διατε-  
τέλεκα μετὰ τῶν πρώτων μὲν τὰς ἐξόδους ποιοῦμενος,  
μετὰ τῶν τελευταίων δὲ ἀναχωρῶν. καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς  
φιλοτίμως καὶ κοσμίως πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων  
σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἴ τις κομᾷ, διὰ τοῦτο μισεῖν· τὰ  
μὲν γὰρ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα οὔτε τοὺς ἰδιώτας οὔτε  
τὸ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως βλάπτει, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κινδυνεύειν  
ἐθελόντων πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἅπαντες ὑμεῖς ὠφε-  
19 λείσθε. ὥστε οὐκ ἄξιον ἀπ' ὄψεως, ὧ βουλή, οὔτε  
φιλεῖν οὔτε μισεῖν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἔργων σκοπεῖν·  
πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν διαλεγόμενοι καὶ κοσμίως ἀμ-  
πεχόμενοι μεγάλων κακῶν αἰτιοὶ γεγόνασιν, ἕτεροι δὲ  
τῶν τοιούτων ἀμελοῦντες πολλὰ καγαθὰ ὑμᾶς εἰσιν  
εἰργασμένοι.

20 Ἦδη δέ τινων ἡσθόμην, ὧ βουλή, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα  
ἄχθομένων μοι, ὅτι νεώτερος ὢν ἐπεχείρησα λέγειν ἐν  
τῷ δήμῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠναγκάσθην ὑπερ

τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ πραγμάτων δημηγορήσαι, ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ ἑμαυτῷ δοκῶ φιλοτιμότερον διατεθῆναι τοῦ δέοντος, ἅμα μὲν τῶν προγόνων ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅτι οὐδὲν πέπαυνται τὰ τῆς πόλεως πρύττοντες, ἅμα δὲ ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν <sup>21</sup> (τὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ χρὴ λέγειν) τοὺς τοιούτους μόνους ἀξιόους νομίζοντας εἶναι, ὥστε ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντας τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπαρθείη πρύττειν καὶ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως; ἔτι δὲ τί ἂν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἄχθοισθε; οὐ γὰρ ἕτεροι περὶ αὐτῶν κριταί εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς.

## XII.

## ΚΑΤΑ ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΤΟΤ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΤ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ, ΟΝ  
ΑΤΤΟΣ ΕΙΠΕ ΛΤΣΙΑΣ.

ΟΥΚ ἄρξασθαι μοι δοκεῖ ἄπορον εἶναι, ὦ ἄνδρες  
δικασταί, τῆς κατηγορίας, ἀλλὰ παύσασθαι λέγοντι·  
τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοσαῦτα τὸ πλήθος  
εἵργασται, ὥστε μήτ' ἂν ψευδόμενον δεινότερα τῶν  
ὑπαρχόντων κατηγορήσαι, μήτε τάληθῇ βουλόμενον  
εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα δύνασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἢ τὸν κατή-  
2 γορον ἀπειπεῖν ἢ τὸν χρόνον ἐπιλιπεῖν. τούναντίον  
δέ μοι δοκοῦμεν πείσεσθαι ἢ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ.  
πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔδει τὴν ἔχθραν τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας  
ἐπιδείξαι, ἥτις εἶη πρὸς τοὺς φεύγοντας· νυνὶ δὲ παρὰ  
τῶν φευγόντων χρὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ἥτις ἦν αὐτοῖς πρὸς  
τὴν πόλιν ἔχθρα, ἀνθ' ὅτου τοιαῦτα ἐτόλμησαν εἰς  
αὐτὴν ἐξαμαρτάνειν. οὐ μέντοι ὥς οὐκ ἔχων οἰκείας  
ἔχθρας καὶ συμφορὰς τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ὥς  
ἅπασι πολλῆς ἀφθονίας οὔσης ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων ἢ ὑπὲρ  
3 τῶν δημοσίων ὀργίζεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες  
δικασταί, οὐτ' ἐμαυτοῦ πάποτε οὔτε ἀλλότρια πρά-  
γματα πράξας νῦν ἠνάγκασμαι ὑπὸ τῶν γεγενημένων  
τούτου κατηγορεῖν, ὥστε πολλάκις εἰς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν  
κατέστην, μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν ἀναξίως καὶ ἀδυνάτως

ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἑμαυτοῦ τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιήσομαι· ὅμως δὲ πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι δι' ἐλαχίστων διδάξαι.

Οὐμὸς πατὴρ Κέφαλος ἐπέισθη μὲν ὑπὸ Περικλέους 4 εἰς ταύτην τὴν γῆν ἀφικέσθαι, ἔτη δὲ τριάκοντα ὥκησε, καὶ οὐδενὶ πώποτε οὔτε ἡμεῖς οὔτε ἐκεῖνος δίκην οὔτε ἐδικασύμεθα οὔτε ἐφύγομεν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ὥκούμεν δημοκρατούμενοι ὥστε μήτε εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἑξαμαρτάνειν μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τριά- 5 κοντα πονηροὶ [μὲν] καὶ συκοφάνται ὄντες εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, φάσκοντες χρῆναι τῶν ἀδίκων καθαρὰν ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πολίτας ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην τραπέσθαι, τοιαῦτα λέγοντες οὐ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἐτόλμων, ὡς ἐγὼ περὶ τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ πρῶτον εἰπὼν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀναμνήσαι πειράσομαι. Θέογνις γὰρ καὶ Πείσων ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς τριά- 6 κοντα περὶ τῶν μετοίκων, ὡς εἰέν τινες τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀχθόμενοι· καλλίστην οὖν εἶναι πρόφασιν τιμωρεῖσθαι μὲν δοκεῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ χρηματίζεσθαι· πάντως δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν πένεσθαι, τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ δεῖσθαι χρημάτων. καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπειθον· 7 ἀποκτινύναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους περὶ οὐδενὸς ἡγούντο, λαμβάνειν δὲ χρήματα περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς δέκα συλλαβεῖν, τούτων δὲ δύο πένητας, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολογία, ὡς οὐ χρημάτων ἕνεκα ταῦτα πέπρακται, ἀλλὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πολιτείᾳ γεγένηται, ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἄλλων εὐλόγως πεποιηκότες. διαλαβόντες δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐβαδίζον· καὶ ἐμὲ 8

μὲν ξένους ἐστιῶντα κατέλαβον, οὓς ἐξελάσαντες Πεί-  
 σωνί με παραδιδόασιν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ἐργαστή-  
 ριον ἐλθόντες τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἀπεγράφοντο. ἐγὼ δὲ  
 Πείσωνα μὲν ἡρώτων εἰ βούλοιτό με σῶσαι χρήματα  
 9 λαβών· ὁ δ' ἔφασκεν, εἰ πολλὰ εἶη. εἶπον οὖν ὅτι  
 τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἕτοιμος εἶην δοῦναι· ὁ δ' ὡμολό-  
 γησε ταῦτα ποιήσκειν. ἡπιστάμην μὲν οὖν ὅτι οὔτε  
 θεοὺς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους νομίζει, ὅμως δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόν-  
 των ἐδόκει μοι ἀναγκαιότατον εἶναι πίστιν παρ' αὐτοῦ  
 10 λαβεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥμοσεν ἐξώλειαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς  
 παισὶν ἐπαρώμενος, λαβὼν τὸ τάλαντόν με σώσειν,  
 εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀνοίγνυμι·  
 Πείσων δ' αἰσθόμενος εἰσέρχεται, καὶ ἰδὼν τὰ ἐνόντα  
 καλεῖ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν δύο, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ λαβεῖν  
 11 ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ὡμολόγητο εἶχεν, ὦ ἄν-  
 δρες δικασταί, ἀλλὰ τρία τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ τετρα-  
 κοσίους κυζικηνοὺς καὶ ἑκατὸν δαρεικοὺς καὶ φιάλας  
 ἀργυρᾶς τέτταρας, ἐδεόμην αὐτοῦ ἐφόδιά μοι δοῦναι,  
 12 ὁ δ' ἀγαπήσειν με ἔφασκεν, εἰ τὸ σῶμα σώσω. ἐξιοῦ-  
 σι δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ Πείσωνι ἐπιτυγχάνει Μηλόβιός τε καὶ  
 Μνησιθείδης ἐκ τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου ἀπίοντες, καὶ κατα-  
 λαμβάνουσι πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς θύραις, καὶ ἐρωτῶσιν  
 ὅποι βαδίζοιμεν· ὁ δ' ἔφασκεν εἰς τὰδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ,  
 ἵνα καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ σκέψηται. ἐκείνον μὲν  
 οὖν ἐκέλευον βαδίζειν, ἐμὲ δὲ μεθ' αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖν  
 13 εἰς Δαμνίππου. Πείσων δὲ προσελθὼν σιγᾶν μοι  
 παρεκελεύετο καὶ θαρρεῖν, ὥς ἦξων ἐκείσε. καταλαμ-  
 βάνομεν δὲ αὐτόθι Θέογνιν ἐτέρους φυλάττοντα· ὧ

παραδόντες ἐμὲ πάλιν ᾤχοντο. ἐν τοιούτῳ δ' ὄντι μοι  
 κινδυνεύειν ἐδόκει, ὥς τοῦ γε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχοντος  
 ἤδη. καλέσας δὲ Δάμνιππον λέγω πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε, 14  
 “ἐπιτήδειος μὲν μοι τυγχάνεις ὦν, ἤκω δ' εἰς τὴν σὴν  
 οἰκίαν, ἀδικῶ δ' οὐδέν, χρημάτων δ' ἕνεκα ἀπόλλυμαι.  
 σὺ οὖν ταῦτα πάσχοντί μοι πρόθυμον παράσχου τὴν  
 σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν.” ὁ δ' ὑπέ-  
 σχετο ταῦτα ποιήσειν. ἐδόκει δ' αὐτῷ βέλτιον εἶναι  
 πρὸς Θεόγνιν μνησθῆναι· ἡγεῖτο γὰρ ἅπαν ποιήσειν  
 αὐτόν, εἴ τις ἀργύριον διδοίη. ἐκείνου δὲ διαλεγομένου 15  
 Θεόγνιδι (ἔμπειρος γὰρ ὦν ἐτύγχανον τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ  
 ᾔδειν ὅτι ἀμφίβυρος εἶη) ἐδόκει μοι ταύτῃ πειραῖσθαι  
 σωθῆναι, ἐνθυμουμένῳ ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν λάθω, σωθήσομαι,  
 ἐὰν δὲ ληφθῶ, ἡγούμην μὲν, εἰ Θεόγνις εἶη πεπει-  
 σμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Δαμνίππου χρήματα λαβεῖν, οὐδὲν  
 ἥττον ἀφεθήσεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ὁμοίως ἀποθανεῖσθαι.  
 ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἔφευγον, ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῇ αὐλείῳ θύρᾳ 16  
 τὴν φυλακὴν ποιουμένων· τριῶν δὲ θυρῶν οὐσῶν, ἃς  
 ἔδει με διελθεῖν, ἅπασαι ἀνεωγμέναι ἔτυχον. ἀφικό-  
 μενος δὲ εἰς Ἀρχένεω τοῦ ναυκλήρου ἐκείνον πέμπω  
 εἰς ἄστυ, πευσόμενον περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ· ἤκων δὲ ἔλε-  
 γεν ὅτι Ἐρατοσθένης αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ λαβὼν εἰς τὸ  
 δεσμωτήριον ἀπαγάγοι. καὶ ἐγὼ τοιαῦτα πεπυσμένος 17  
 τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς διέπλευσα Μέγαράδε. Πολε-  
 μάρχῳ δὲ παρήγγειλαν οἱ τριάκοντα τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνων  
 εἰθισμένον παράγγελμα, πίνειν κώνειον, πρὶν τὴν αἰ-  
 τίαν εἰπεῖν δι' ἣντινα ἔμελλεν ἀποθανεῖσθαι· οὕτω  
 πολλοῦ ἐδέησε κριθῆναι καὶ ἀπολογήσασθαι. καὶ 18

ἐπειδὴ ἀπεφέρετο ἐκ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου τεθνεώς, τριῶν  
 ἡμῖν οἰκιῶν οὐσῶν [ἐξ] οὐδεμιᾶς εἶσαν ἐξενεχθῆναι,  
 ἀλλὰ κλεισίον μισθωσάμενοι προὔθεντο αὐτόν. καὶ  
 πολλῶν ὄντων ἱματίων αἰτοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἔδοσαν εἰς τὴν  
 ταφήν, ἀλλὰ τῶν φίλων ὁ μὲν ἱμάτιον ὁ δὲ προσκεφά-  
 λαιον ὁ δὲ ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν ἔδωκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου  
 19 ταφήν. καὶ ἔχοντες μὲν ἐπτακοσίας ἀσπίδας τῶν ἡμε-  
 τέρων, ἔχοντες δὲ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον τοσοῦτον, χαλ-  
 κὸν δὲ καὶ κόσμον καὶ ἔπιπλα καὶ ἱμάτια γυναικεία  
 ὅσα οὐδεπώποτε ᾤοντο κτήσασθαι, καὶ ἀνδράποδα εἴ-  
 κοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὧν τὰ μὲν βέλτιστα ἔλαβον, τὰ δὲ  
 λοιπὰ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπέδωκαν, εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπλη-  
 στίαν καὶ αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀφίκοντο καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ  
 αὐτῶν ἀπόδειξιν ἐποιήσαντο· τῆς γὰρ Πολεμάρχου  
 γυναικὸς χρυσοῦς ἐλικτῆρας, οὓς ἔχουσα ἐτύγχανεν,  
 ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Μηλόβιος, ἐκ τῶν  
 20 ᾧτων ἐξείλετο. καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς  
 οὐσίας ἐλέου παρ' αὐτῶν ἐτυγχάνομεν. ἀλλ' οὕτως εἰς  
 ἡμᾶς διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἐξημάρτανον, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἂν ἕτε-  
 ροι μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων ὀργὴν ἔχοντες, οὐ τούτων ἀξι-  
 οὺς γε ὄντας τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ πάσας τὰς χορηγίας χορη-  
 γήσαντας, πολλὰς δ' εἰσφορὰς εἰσενεγκόντας, κοσμίους  
 δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχοντας καὶ πᾶν τὸ προσταττό-  
 μενον ποιοῦντας, ἐχθρὸν δ' οὐδένα κεκτημένους, πολλοὺς  
 δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων λυσαμένους τοιοῦτων  
 21 τεύοντο. οὗτοι γὰρ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τοὺς  
 πολεμίους ἐξήλασαν, πολλοὺς δ' ἀδίκως ἀποκτείναντες

ἀτάφους ἐποίησαν, πολλοὺς δ' ἐπιτίμους ὄντας ἀτίμους [τῆς πόλεως] κατέστησαν, πολλῶν δὲ θυγατέρας μελ-  
 λούσας ἐκδίδοσθαι ἐκώλυσαν. Καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτόν εἰσι 22  
 τόλμης ἀφιγμένοι ὥσθ' ἤκουσιν ἀπολογησόμενοι, καὶ  
 λέγουσιν ὡς οὐδὲν κακὸν οὐδ' αἰσχρὸν εἰργασμένοι  
 εἰσίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐβουλόμην ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀληθῆ λέγειν·  
 μετῆν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐμοὶ τούτου τὰγαθοῦ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον  
 μέρος. νῦν δὲ οὔτε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τοιαῦτα 23  
 ὑπάρχει οὔτε πρὸς ἐμέ· τὸν ἀδελφὸν γὰρ μου, ὥσπερ  
 καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, Ἐρατοσθένης ἀπέκτεινεν, οὔτε αὐτὸς  
 ἰδίᾳ ἀδικούμενος οὔτε εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὀρών ἐξαμαρτά-  
 νοντα, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παρανομίᾳ προθύμως ἐξυπηρε-  
 τῶν. ἀναβιβασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν βούλομαι ἐρέσθαι, ὃ 24  
 ἄνδρες δικασταί. τοιαύτην γὰρ γνώμην ἔχω· ἐπὶ μὲν  
 τῇ τούτου ὠφελείᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον περὶ τούτου διαλέ-  
 γεσθαι ἄσεβες εἶναι νομίζω, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τούτου βλάβῃ  
 καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὅσιον καὶ εὐσεβές. ἀνάβηθι οὖν  
 μοι καὶ ἀπόκριναι, ὃ τι ἂν σε ἐρωτῶ.

Ἀπήγαγες Πολέμαρχον ἢ οὐ; Τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρ- 25  
 χόντων προσταχθέντα δεδιὼς ἐποιοῦν. Ἦσθα δ' ἐν τῷ  
 βουλευτηρίῳ, ὅτε οἱ λόγοι ἐγίγνοντο περὶ ἡμῶν; Ἦν.  
 Πότερον συνηγόρουες τοῖς κελεύουσιν ἀποκτείνειν ἢ ἀντέ-  
 λεγες; Ἀντέλεγον. Ἰνα ἀποθάνωμεν ἢ μὴ ἀποθά-  
 νωμεν; Ἰνα μὴ ἀποθάνητε. Ἐγούμενος ἡμᾶς ἄδικα  
 πύσχειν ἢ δίκαια; Ἄδικα.

Εἴτ', ὃ σχετλιώτατε πάντων, ἀντέλεγες μὲν ἵνα σώ- 26  
 σειας, συνελάμβανες δὲ ἵνα ἀποκτείνειας; καὶ ὅτε μὲν  
 τὸ πλῆθος ἦν ὑμῶν κύριον τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας,



ἀντιλέγειν φῆς τοῖς βουλομένοις ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπὶ σοὶ μόνῳ ἐγένετο καὶ σῶσαι Πολέμαρχον καὶ μὴ, εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπήγαγες; εἰθ' ὅτι μὲν, ὥς φῆς, ἀντειπὼν οὐδὲν ὠφέλησας, ἀξιοῖς χρηστὸς νομίζεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινας, οὐκ οἶμι ἐμοὶ καὶ τουτοισὶ [δεῖν] δοῦναι δίκην;

- 27 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκὸς αὐτῷ πιστεύειν, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ λέγει φάσκων ἀντειπεῖν, ὥς αὐτῷ προσετάχθη. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πού ἐν τοῖς μετοίκους πίστιν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον. ἔπειτα τῷ ἦττον εἰκὸς ἦν προσταχθῆναι ἢ ὅστις ἀντειπὼν γε ἐτύγχανε καὶ γνώμην ἀποδεδειγμένος; τίνα γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν ἦττον ταῦτα ὑπηρετῆσαι ἢ τὸν ἀντειπόντα
- 28 οἷς ἐκείνοι ἐβούλοντο πραχθῆναι; Ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἱκανή μοι δοκεῖ πρόφασις εἶναι τῶν γεγενημένων εἰς τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀναφέρειν τὴν αἰτίαν· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τριάκοντα, ἂν εἰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναφέρωσι,
- 29 πῶς ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς ἀποδέχεσθαι; εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρχὴ ἰσχυροτέρα αὐτῆς, ὑφ' ἧς αὐτῷ προσετάττετο παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἀνθρώπους ἀπολλύναι, ἴσως ἂν εἰκότως αὐτῷ συγγνώμην εἶχετε· νῦν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ποτε καὶ λήψεσθε δίκην, εἴπερ ἐξέσται τοῖς τριάκοντα λέγειν
- 30 ὅτι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα προσταχθέντα ἐποίουν; Καὶ μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, σώζειν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὰ τούτοις ἐψηφισμένα παρόν, συλλαβὼν ἀπήγαγεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ πᾶσιν ὀργίζεσθε, ὅσοι εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἦλθον τὰς ὑμετέρας ζητήσιν ποιούμενοι ἢ ὑμῶν ἢ τῶν ὑμετέρων
- 31 τινός. καίτοι εἰ χρὴ τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν ἐτέρους ἀπολέσασσι συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἐκείνοις ἂν δικαιο-

ὀτερον ἔχοιτε· κίνδυνος γὰρ ἦν πεμφθεῖσι μὴ ἔλθειν  
 καὶ καταλαβοῦσιν ἐξάρνοις γενέσθαι. τῷ δὲ Ἐρατο-  
 σθένει ἐξῆν εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπότησεν, ἔπειτα ὅτι οὐκ  
 εἶδεν· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐτ' ἔλεγχον οὔτε βύσανον εἶχεν,  
 ὥστε μὴδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλομένων οἶόν τ' εἶναι  
 ἐξελεγχθῆναι. χρῆν δέ σε, ὦ Ἐρατόσθενης, εἴπερ ἦσθα 31  
 χρηστός, πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀδίκως ἀποθα-  
 νεῖσθαι μνηυτὴν γενέσθαι ἢ τοὺς ἀδίκως ἀπολουμένους  
 συλλαμβάνειν. νῦν δέ σου τὰ ἔργα φανερά γεγένηται  
 οὐχ ὥς ἀνιωμένου ἀλλ' ὥς ἡδομένου τοῖς γιγνομένοις,  
 ὥστε τούσδε ἐκ τῶν ἔργων χρὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τῶν λόγων 33  
 τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν, ἃ ἴσασι γεγεννημένα τῶν τότε λεγο-  
 μένων τεκμήρια λαμβάνοντας, ἐπειδὴ μάρτυρας περὶ  
 αὐτῶν οὐχ οἶόν τε παρασχέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡμῖν  
 παρῆναι οὐκ ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὥστ' ἐπὶ  
 τούτοις ἐστὶ πάντα τὰ κακὰ εἰργασμένοις τὴν πόλιν  
 πάντα τάγαθὰ περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν. τοῦτο μέντοι οὐ 34  
 φεύγω, ἀλλ' ὁμολογῶ σοι, εἰ βούλει, ἀντεπεῖν. θαυ-  
 μάξω δὲ τί ἂν ποτε ἐποίησας συνειπών, ὁπότε ἀντει-  
 πεῖν φύσκων ἀπέκτεινας Πολέμαρχον. φέρε δὴ, τί ἂν  
 εἰ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες ἐτυγχάνετε αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ υἱεῖς;  
 ἀπεψηφίζεσθε; δεῖ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, Ἐρατοσθέ-  
 νην δυοῖν θάτερον ἀποδεῖξαι, ἢ ὥς οὐκ ἀπήγαγεν αὐτόν,  
 ἢ ὥς δικαίως τούτ' ἔπραξεν. οὗτος δὲ ὡμολόγηκεν ἀδί-  
 κως συλλαβεῖν, ὥστε ῥαδίαν ὑμῖν τὴν διαψήφισιν περὶ  
 αὐτοῦ πεποιήκε. Καὶ μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν 35  
 καὶ τῶν ξένων ἤκουσιν εἰσόμενοι τίνα γνώμην περὶ τού-  
 των ἔξετε. ὧν οἱ μὲν ὑμέτεροι ὄντες πολῖται μαθόντες

ἀπίαςιν ὅτι ἡ δίκην δώσουσιν ὧν ἂν ἐξαμύρτωσιν, ἡ πρᾶξαντες μὲν ὧν ἐφίενται τύραννοι τῆς πόλεως ἔσονται, δυστυχήσαντες δὲ τὸ ἴσον ὑμῖν ἔξουσιν· ὅσοι δὲ ξένοι ἐπιδημοῦσιν, εἴσονται πότερον ἀδίκως τοὺς τριῖκοντα ἐκκηρύττουσιν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἢ δικαίως. εἰ γὰρ δὴ αὐτοὶ οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες λαβόντες ἀφήσουσιν, ἡ που σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡγήσονται περιέργους ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κηδο-  
 36 μένους. οὐκ οὖν δεινὸν εἰ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς, οἳ ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες, ὅτε διὰ χειμῶνα οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἔφασαν εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνελέσθαι, θανάτῳ ἐξημιώσατε, ἡγούμενοι χρῆναι τῇ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀρετῇ παρ' ἐκείνων δίκην λαβεῖν, τούτους δέ, οἳ ἰδιῶται μὲν ὄντες καθ' ὅσον ἐδύναντο ἐποίησαν ἡττηθῆναι ναυμαχοῦντας, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐκόντες πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀποκτινύναι, οὐκ ἄρα χρὴ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ὑφ' ὑμῶν ταῖς ἐσχύταις ζημίαις κολάζεσθαι;

37 Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἡξίουں ἱκανὰ εἶναι τὰ κατηγορημένα· μέχρι γὰρ τούτου νομίζω χρῆναι κατηγορεῖν ἕως ἂν θανάτου δόξῃ τῷ φεύγοντι ἄξιαι εἰργάσθαι· ταύτην γὰρ ἐσχύτην δίκην δυνάμεθα παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. ὥστ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ πολλὰ κατηγορεῖν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς ἐκίστου τῶν πεπραγμένων δις ἀποθανόντες δίκην δοῦναι δύναιντ' ἂν.  
 38 οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ προσήκει ποιῆσαι, ὅπερ ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει εἰθισμένον ἐστίν, πρὸς μὲν τὰ κατηγορημένα μηδὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, περὶ δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἕτερα λέγοντες ἐνίοτε ἐξαπατῶσιν, ὑμῖν ἀποδεικνύντες ὡς στρα-

τιῶται ἀγαθοί εἰσιν, ἥ ὥς πολλὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς ἔλαβον τριηραρχήσαντες, ἥ πόλεις πολεμίας οὔσας φι-  
λίας ἐποίησαν· ἐπεὶ κελεύετε αὐτὸν ἀποδείξαι ὅπου 39  
τοσούτους τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέκτειναν ὅσους τῶν πολι-  
τῶν, ἥ ναῦς ὅπου τοσαύτας ἔλαβον ὅσας αὐτοὶ παρέδο-  
σαν, ἥ πόλιν ἤντινα τοιαύτην προσεκτήσαντο οἶαν τὴν  
ὑμετέραν κατεδουλώσαντο. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅπλα τῶν πολε- 40  
μίων ἐσκύλευσαν τοσαῦτα ὅσα περ ὑμῶν ἀφείλοντο;  
ἀλλὰ τείχη τοιαῦτα εἶλον οἷα τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος κα-  
τέσκαψαν; οἵτινες καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν φρούρια  
καθεῖλον, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸν Πειραιᾶ Λακε-  
δαιμονίων προσταττόντων περιεῖλον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἑαυτοῖς  
τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτω βεβαιότεραν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι.

Πολλάκις οὖν ἐθαύμασα τῆς τόλμης τῶν λεγόντων 41  
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, πλὴν ὅταν ἐνθυμηθῶ ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐστὶν  
αὐτοὺς τε πάντα τὰ κακὰ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς τοιού-  
τους ἐπαινεῖν. οὐ γὰρ νῦν πρῶτον τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει 42  
τὰ ἐναντία ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν  
τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὀλυγαρχίαν καθιστὰς ἔφηνγεν ἐξ Ἑλ-  
λησπόντου τριήραρχος καταλιπὼν τὴν ναῦν, μετὰ  
Ἰατροκλέους καὶ ἐτέρων, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐδὲν δέομαι  
λέγειν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ δεῦρο τὰναντία τοῖς βουλομέ-  
νοις δημοκρατίαν εἶναι ἔπραττεν. καὶ τούτων μάρτυ-  
ρας ὑμῖν παρέξομαι.

#### MARTYRES.

Τὸν μὲν τοίνυν μεταξὺ βίον αὐτοῦ παρήσω· ἐπειδὴ 43  
δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ συμφορὰ τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο, δημο-

κρατίας ἔτι οὔσης, ὅθεν τῆς στάσεως ἤρξαν, πέντε ἄνδρες ἔφοροι κατέστησαν ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἐταίρων, συναγωγεῖς μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν, ἄρχοντες δὲ τῶν συνωμοτῶν, ἐναντία δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει πράττοντες· ὧν  
 44 Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Κριτίας ἦσαν. οὗτοι δὲ φυλάρχους τε ἐπὶ τὰς φυλακὰς κατέστησαν, καὶ ὃ τι δέοι χειροτονεῖσθαι καὶ οὔστινας χρεῖη ἄρχειν παρήγγελλον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πρῶττειν βούλουντο, κύριοι ἦσαν· οὕτως οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων πολιτῶν ὄντων ἐπεβουλευέσθε ὅπως μὴτ' ἀγαθὸν μηδὲν ψηφιεῖσθε  
 45 πολλῶν τε ἐνδεεῖς ἔσεσθε. τοῦτο γὰρ [καὶ] ἠπίσταντο, ὅτι ἄλλως μὲν οὐχ οἰοί τε ἔσονται περιγενέσθαι, κακῶς δὲ πραττόντων δυνήσονται· καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦντο τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἀπαλλαγῆναι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων  
 46 τῶν οὐκ ἐνθυμήσεσθαι. ὥς τοίνυν τῶν ἐφόρων ἐγένετο, μάρτυρας ὑμῖν παρέξομαι, οὐ τοὺς τότε συμπράττοντας (οὐ γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην), ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους  
 47 ἀκούσαντας. καίτοι εἰ ἐσωφρόνουν κατεμαρτύρουν ἂν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους τῶν σφετέρων ἀμαρτημάτων σφόδρ' ἂν ἐκόλαζον, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους, εἰ ἐσωφρόνουν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν κακοῖς πιστοὺς ἐνόμιζον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθοῖς ῥαδίως παρέβαινον. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τούτους τοσαῦτα λέγω, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυράς μοι κάλει. Καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνάβητε.

#### MARTYRES.

48 Τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστὰς ἀγαθοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς μετέσχεν,

ἄλλων δὲ πολλῶν. καίτοι εἴπερ ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ἐχρῆν  
 [ἂν] πρῶτον μὲν μὴ παρανόμως ἄρχειν, ἔπειτα τῇ βουλῇ  
 μηνυτὴν γίγνεσθαι περὶ τῶν εἰσαγγελιῶν ἀπασῶν, ὅτι  
 ψευδεῖς εἶεν, καὶ Βύτραχος καὶ Αἰσχυλίδης οὐ τάληθῇ  
 μηνύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα πλασθέντα  
 εἰσαγγέλλουσι, συγκαίμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν βλάβῃ.  
 καὶ μὲν δὴ, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅσοι κακόνοι ἦσαν τῷ  
 ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον εἶχον σιωπῶντες· ἔτε-  
 ροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ λέγοντες καὶ πράττοντες ὧν οὐχ οἶόν  
 τ' ἦν μείζω κακὰ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει. ὁπόσοι δ' εὖνοί  
 φασιν εἶναι, πῶς οὐκ ἐνταῦθα ἔδειξαν, αὐτοί τε τὰ βέλ-  
 τιστα λέγοντες καὶ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ἀποτρέποντες;

Ἴσως δ' ἂν ἔχοι εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐδεδοίκει, καὶ ὑμῶν τοῦτο σο  
 ἐνίοις ἰκανὸν ἔσται. ὅπως τοίνυν μὴ φανήσεται ἐν τοῖς  
 λόγοις τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐναντιούμενος· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐνταυθοῖ  
 δῆλος ἔσται ὅτι ἐκεῖνά τε αὐτῷ ἤρεσκε, καὶ τοσοῦτον  
 ἐδύνατο ὥστε ἐναντιούμενος μηδὲν κακὸν παθεῖν ὑπ' αὐ-  
 τῶν. χρῆν δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ταύ-  
 την τὴν προθυμίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑπὲρ Θηραμένους, ὃς  
 εἰς ὑμᾶς πολλὰ ἐξήμαρτεν. ἀλλ' οὗτος τὴν μὲν πόλιν σι  
 ἐχθρὰν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ὑμετέρους ἐχθροὺς φίλους,  
 ὡς ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα ἐγὼ πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις παραστήσω,  
 καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰς οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀλλ'  
 ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν γιγνομένας, ὁπότεροι [μόνοι] ταῦτα πρά-  
 ξουσι καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄρξουσιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ὑπὲρ τῶν σι  
 ἀδικουμένων ἐστασίαζον, ποῦ κάλλιον [ἂν] ἦν ἀνδρὶ  
 ἄρχοντι, ἢ Θρασυβούλου Φυλὴν κατειληφότος, τότε  
 ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ εὖνοιαν; ὁ δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαγ-

γείλασθαί τι ἢ πράξαι ἀγαθὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ Φυλῇ,  
 ἐλθὼν μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων εἰς Σαλαμίνα καὶ Ἐλευ-  
 σίνυδε τριακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὸ δεσμο-  
 τήριον, καὶ μιᾷ ψήφῳ αὐτῶν ὑπάντων θάνατον κατεψη-  
 53 φίσατο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἦλθομεν καὶ αἱ  
 ταραχαὶ γεγενημέναι ἦσαν καὶ περὶ τῶν διαλλαγῶν οἱ  
 λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, πολλὰς ἐκάτεροι ἐλπίδας εἶχομεν πρὸς  
 ἀλλήλους ἔσεσθαι ὡς ἀμφοτέροι ἐδείξαμεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἐκ Πειραιῶς κρείττους ὄντες εἶσαν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν·  
 54 οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἐλθόντες τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξέβαλον  
 πλὴν Φεῖδωνος καὶ Ἐρατοσθένους, ἄρχοντας δὲ τοὺς ἐκεί-  
 νοις ἐχθίστους εἵλαντο, ἡγούμενοι δικαίως ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν  
 αὐτῶν τοὺς τε τριάκοντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ  
 55 φιλεῖσθαι. τούτων τοίνυν Φεῖδων [ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα γενό-  
 μενος] καὶ Ἰπποκλῆς καὶ Ἐπιχάρης ὁ Λαμπρεὺς καὶ  
 ἕτεροι οἱ δοκούντες εἶναι ἐναντιώτατοι Χαρικλεῖ καὶ Κρι-  
 τία καὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἐταιρείᾳ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 κατέστησαν, πολὺ μείζω στάσιν καὶ πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν  
 56 Πειραιεῖ τοῖς ἐξ ἄστεος ἐποίησαν· οἷς καὶ φανερώς ἐπε-  
 δείξαντο ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 ἀδίκως ἀπολλυμένων ἐστασίαζον, οὐδ' οἱ τεθνεῶτες αὐ-  
 τοὺς ἐλύπουν, οὐδ' οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποθανεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ  
 57 μείζον δυνάμενοι καὶ θάττον πλουτοῦντες. λαβόντες  
 γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐπολέμουν,  
 τοῖς τε τριάκοντα πάντα κακὰ εἰργασμένοις καὶ ὑμῖν  
 πάντα κακὰ πεπονθόσι. καίτοι τοῦτο πᾶσι δῆλον ἦν,  
 ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἐκείνοι δικαίως ἔφευγον, ὑμεῖς ἀδίκως, εἰ δ'  
 ὑμεῖς δικαίως, οἱ τριάκοντα ἀδίκως· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐτέρων

ἔργων αἰτίαν λαβόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεσον, ἀλλὰ  
τούτων. ὥστε σφόδρα χρηὴ ὀργίζεσθαι, ὅτι Φείδων αἶρε- 38  
θεὶς ὑμᾶς διαλλάξαι καὶ καταγαγεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων  
Ἐρατοσθένει μετείχε καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ τοὺς μὲν  
κρείττους αὐτῶν δι' ὑμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἔτοιμος ἦν, ὑμῖν  
δὲ ἀδίκως φεύγουσιν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πό-  
λιν, ἀλλ' ἐλθὼν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς στρα-  
τεύεσθαι, διαβάλλων ὅτι Βοιωτῶν ἡ πόλις ἔσται, καὶ  
ἄλλα λέγων οἷς ᾤετο πείσειν μάλιστα. οὐ δυνάμενος 39  
δὲ τούτων τυχεῖν, εἴτε καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐμποδῶν ὄντων  
εἴτε καὶ αὐτῶν οὐ βουλομένων, ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἔδανεί-  
σατο, ἵνα ἔχοι ἐπικούρους μισθοῦσθαι. καὶ Λύσανδρον  
ἄρχοντα ἡτήσατο, εὐνούστατον μὲν ὄντα τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ,  
κακονούστατον δὲ τῇ πόλει, μισοῦντα δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς  
ἐν Πειραιεῖ. μισθωσάμενοι δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπ' 40  
ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ πόλεις ἐπάγοντες, καὶ τελευ-  
τῶντες Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὀπόσους ἐδύ-  
ναντο πείσαι, οὐ διαλλάξαι ἀλλ' ἀπολέσαι παρσκευά-  
ζοντο τὴν πόλιν εἰ μὴ δι' ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, οἷς ὑμεῖς  
δηλώσατε παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δίκην λαβόντες, ὅτι καὶ  
ἐκείνοις χάριν ἀποδώσετε. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπίστασθε μὲν 41  
καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ οἶδ' ὅτι οὐ δεῖ μάρτυρας παρασχέσθαι.  
ὅμως δέ· ἐγὼ τε γὰρ δέομαι ἀναπαύσασθαι, ὑμῶν τ'  
ἐνίοις ἥδιον ὥς πλείστων τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους ἀκούειν.

MARTYPEΣ.

Φέρε δὴ καὶ περὶ Θηραμένους ὥς ἂν δύνωμαι διὰ 42  
βραχυτάτων διδάξω. δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν ἀκούσαι ὑπὲρ τ'



ἔμαντοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ μηδενὶ τοῦτο προσστή  
 ὡς Ἐρατοσθένους κινδυνεύοντος Θηραμένους κατηγορῶ·  
 πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ταῦτα ἀπολογήσεσθαι αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐκείνῳ  
 63 φίλος ἦν καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων μετεῖχε. καίτοι σφόδρ'  
 ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι μετὰ Θεμιστοκλέους πολιτευόμενον προσ-  
 ποιεῖσθαι πρῶττειν ὅπως οἰκοδομηθήσεται τὰ τείχη,  
 ὁπότε καὶ μετὰ Θηραμένους ὅπως καθαιρεθήσεται. οὐ  
 γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἴσου ἄξιοι γεγενῆσθαι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκόντων ὠκοδόμησεν αὐτά, οὗτος δὲ τοὺς  
 64 πολίτας ἐξαπατήσας καθεῖλε. περιέστηκεν οὖν τῇ πό-  
 λει τουναντίον ἢ ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν. ἄξιον μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς  
 φίλους τοὺς Θηραμένους προσαπολωλέναι, πλὴν εἴ τις  
 ἐτύγχανεν ἐκείνῳ τάναντία πρῶττων. νῦν δὲ ὁρῶ τάς  
 τε ἀπολογίας εἰς ἐκείνον ἀναφερομένας, τοὺς τ' ἐκείνῳ  
 συνόντας τιμᾶσθαι πειρωμένους, ὥσπερ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν  
 65 αἰτίου ἀλλ' οὐ μεγάλων κακῶν γεγεννημένου. ὃς πρῶτον  
 μὲν τῆς προτέρας ὀλιγαρχίας αἰτιώτατος ἐγένετο, πείσας  
 ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν ἐλέσθαι. καὶ  
 ὁ μὲν πατήρ αὐτοῦ τῶν προβούλων ὢν ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ δοκῶν εὐνούστατος εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασι στρα-  
 66 τηγὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἤρεθ. καὶ ἕως μὲν ἐτιμᾶτο, πιστὸν  
 ἑαυτὸν παρεῖχεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πείσανδρον μὲν καὶ Κάλ-  
 λισχρον καὶ ἑτέρους ἑώρα προτέρους αὐτοῦ γιγνομέ-  
 νους, τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος οὐκέτι βουλόμενον τούτων  
 ἀκροᾶσθαι, τότε ἤδη διὰ τε τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους φθόνον καὶ  
 τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν δέος μετέσχε τῶν Ἀριστοκράτους ἔργων.  
 67 βουλόμενος δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει δοκεῖν πιστὸς εἶναι  
 Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ Ἀρχεπτόλεμον φιλτάτους ὄντας αὐτῷ

κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ κακίας ἦλθεν, ὥστε ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους πίστιν ὑμᾶς κατεδουλώσατο, διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς φίλους ἀπώλεσε. τιμώμενος δὲ καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀξιούμενος, αὐτὸς ἐπαγ- 68 γειλάμενος σώσειν τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀπώλεσε, φάσκων πρᾶγμα εὐρηκέναι μέγα καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ὑπέσχετο δὲ εἰρήνην ποιήσειν μήτε ὄμηρα δούς μήτε τὰ τείχη καθελὼν μήτε τὰς ναῦς παραδούς· ταῦτα δὲ εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ ἠθέλησεν, ἐκέλευσε δὲ αὐτῷ πιστεύειν. ὑμεῖς 69 δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πραττούσης μὲν τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλῆς σωτήρια, ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν Θηραμένει, εἰδότες δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τῶν πολεμίων ἔνεκεν τἀπόρρητα ποιοῦνται, ἐκείνος δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις οὐκ ἠθέλησεν εἰπεῖν ταῦτα ἅ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔμελλεν ἐρεῖν, ὅμως ἐπετρέψατε αὐτῷ πατρίδα καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ 70 ὦν μὲν ὑπέσχετο οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, οὕτως δὲ ἐνετεθύμητο ὥς χρὴ μικρὰν καὶ ἀσθενῆ γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε περὶ ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε τῶν πολεμίων ἐμνήσθη οὔτε τῶν πολιτῶν ἤλπισε, ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἔπεισε πρᾶξαι, οὐχ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις ἐπαγγελλόμενος, τοῦ τε Πειραιῶς τὰ τείχη περιελεῖν καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πολιτείαν καταλῦσαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι, εἰ μὴ πασῶν τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀποστερηθήσεσθε, ταχεῖαν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμωρίαν κομιείσθε. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον, 71 ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐ πρότερον εἴασε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι, ἥως ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνων καιρὸς ἐπιμελῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐτηρήθη, καὶ μετεπέμψατο μὲν τὰς μετὰ

Λυσάνδρου ναὺς ἐκ Σάμου, ἐπεδήμησε δὲ τὸ τῶν πολε-  
 72 μίων στρατόπεδον. τότε δὲ τούτων ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ  
 παρόντων Λυσάνδρου καὶ Φιλοχάρους καὶ Μιλτιάδου,  
 περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποιοῦν, ἵνα μήτε  
 ῥήτωρ αὐτοῖς μηδεὶς ἐναντιοῖτο μηδὲ διαπειλοῖτο, ὑμεῖς  
 τε μὴ τὰ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντα ἔλοισθε, ἀλλὰ τὰ κεῖνοις  
 73 δοκοῦντα ψηφίσαισθε. ἀναστὰς δὲ Θηραμένης ἐκέλευ-  
 σεν ὑμᾶς τριάκοντα ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ  
 τῇ πολιτεῖα χρήσθαι ἣν Δρακοντίδης ἀπέφαινε. ὑμεῖς  
 δ' ὅμως καὶ οὕτω διακείμενοι ἐθορυβεῖτε ὥς οὐ ποιήσου-  
 ντες ταῦτα· ἐγινώσκετε γὰρ ὅτι περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευ-  
 74 θερίας ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξεκλησιάζετε. Θηραμένης δέ,  
 ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, (καὶ τούτων ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς μάρτυρας  
 παρέξομαι) εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλοι τοῦ ὑμετέρου  
 θορύβου, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίων εἰδείη τοὺς τὰ  
 ὅμοια πράττοντας αὐτῷ, δοκοῦντα δὲ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις λέγοι. μετ' ἐκείνον δὲ Λύσανδρος ἀνα-  
 στὰς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ εἶπε καὶ ὅτι παρασπόνδους ὑμᾶς  
 ἔχοι, καὶ ὅτι οὐ περὶ πολιτείας ὑμῖν ἔσται ἀλλὰ περὶ  
 75 σωτηρίας, εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιθ' ἃ Θηραμένης κελεύει. τῶν  
 δ' ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅσοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν, γινόντες τὴν  
 παρασκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ μένοντες  
 ἡσυχίαν ἤγον, οἱ δ' ὥχοντο ἀπιόντες, τοῦτο γοῦν σφίσιν  
 αὐτοῖς συνειδότες, ὅτι οὐδὲν κακὸν τῇ πόλει ἐψηφί-  
 σαντο· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ πονηροὶ καὶ κακῶς βουλευό-  
 76 μενοι τὰ προσταχθέντα ἐχειροτόνησαν. παρήγγελτο  
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς δέκα μὲν οὓς Θηραμένης ἀπέδειξε χειροτονῆ-  
 σαι, δέκα δὲ οὓς οἱ καθεστηκότες ἔφοροι κελεύοιεν, δέκα

δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων· οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀσθένειαν  
 ἑώρων καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἠπίστακτο, ὥστε πρότε-  
 ρον ᾔδεσαν τὰ μέλλοντα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πραχθήσεσθαι.  
 ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐμοὶ δεῖ πιστεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνῳ· πάντα π  
 γὰρ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰρημένα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἀπολογούμενος  
 ἔλεγεν, ὀνειδίζων μὲν τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν κα-  
 τέλθοιεν, οὐδὲν φροντιζόντων Λακεδαιμονίων, ὀνειδίζων  
 δὲ τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας μετέχουσιν ὅτι πάντων τῶν πε-  
 πραγμένων τοῖς εἰρημένοις τρόποις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ αὐτὸς αἴτιος  
 γεγεννημένος τοιούτων τυγχάνοι, πολλὰς πίστεις αὐτὸς  
 ἔργῳ δεδωκώς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ὅρκους εἰληφώς. καὶ 78  
 τοσούτων καὶ ἐτέρων κακῶν καὶ αἰσχυρῶν καὶ πάλαι καὶ  
 νεωστὶ καὶ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων αἰτίου γεγεννημένου  
 τολμήσουσιν αὐτοὺς φίλους ὄντας ἀποφαίνειν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ  
 ὑμῶν ἀποθανόντος Θηραμένους ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ πο-  
 νηρίας, καὶ δικαίως μὲν ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ δίκην δόντος (ἤδη  
 γὰρ αὐτὴν κατέλυσε), δικαίως δ' ἂν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ· δις  
 γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατεδουλώσατο, τῶν μὲν παρόντων καταφρο-  
 νῶν, τῶν δὲ ἀπόντων ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ ὀνό-  
 ματι χρώμενος δεινοτάτων ἔργων διδάσκαλος καταστάς.

Περὶ μὲν τοίνυν Θηραμένους ἱκανά μοί ἐστι τὰ κατη- 79  
 γορημένα· ἥκει δ' ὑμῖν ἐκείνος ὁ καιρός, ἐν ᾧ δεῖ συγ-  
 γνώμην καὶ ἔλεον μὴ εἶναι ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις,  
 ἀλλὰ παρὰ Ἐρατοσθένους καὶ τῶν τούτου συναρχόν-  
 των δίκην λαβεῖν, μηδὲ μαχομένους μὲν κρείττους εἶναι  
 τῶν πολεμίων, ψηφίζομένους δὲ ἥπτους τῶν ἐχθρῶν.  
 μηδ' ὧν φασι μέλλειν πράξειν πλείω χάριν αὐτοῖς ἴστε, 80  
 ἢ ὧν ἐποίησαν ὀργίζεσθε· μηδ' ἀποῦσι μὲν τοῖς τριά-

κοντα ἐπιβουλεύετε, παρόντας δ' ἀφῆτε· μηδὲ τῆς τύχης, ἣ τούτους παρέδωκε τῇ πόλει, κάκιον ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσητε.

- 81 Κατηγορήται δὴ Ἑρατοσθένους καὶ τῶν τούτου φίλων, οἷς τὰς ἀπολογίας ἀνοίσει καὶ μεθ' ὧν αὐτῷ ταῦτα πέπρακται. ὁ μέντοι ἀγὼν οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου τῇ πόλει καὶ Ἑρατοσθένει· οὗτος μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος καὶ δικαστὴς αὐτὸς ἦν τῶν κρινομένων, ἡμεῖς δὲ νυνὶ εἰς κατηγορίαν
- 82 καὶ ἀπολογίαν καθέσταμεν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας ἀπέκτειναν ἀκρίτους, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἀπολέσαντας τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀξιοῦτε κρίνειν, παρ' ὧν οὐδ' ἂν παρανόμως βουλόμενοι δίκην λαμβάνειν ἀξίαν τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὧν τὴν πόλιν ἡδικήκασιν λάβοιτε. τί γὰρ ἂν παθόντες δίκην τὴν ἀξίαν εἴσαν τῶν ἔργων
- 83 δεδωκότες; πότερον εἰ αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνετε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν, ἱκανὴν ἂν τοῦ φόνου δίκην λάβοιμεν, ὧν οὗτοι πατέρας καὶ υἱεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν; ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ τὰ χρήματα τὰ φανερά δημεύσετε, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ἢ τῇ πόλει, ἣς οὗτοι πολλὰ εἰλήφασιν, ἢ
- 84 τοῖς ἰδιώταις, ὧν τὰς οἰκίας ἐξεπόρθησαν; ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν πάντα ποιοῦντες δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἂν δύναισθε λαβεῖν, πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ὑμῖν καὶ ἡντινοῦν ἀπολιπεῖν, ἡντινά τις βούλοιτο παρὰ τούτων λαμβάνειν; πᾶν δ' ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τολμῆσαι, ὅστις νυνὶ οὐχ ἑτέρων ὄντων τῶν δικαστῶν ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τῶν κακῶς πεπονθότων, ἥκει ἀπολογησόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μάρτυρας τῆς τούτου πονηρίας· τοσοῦτον ἢ ὑμῶν καταπεφρόνηκεν ἢ ἐτέροις
- 85 πεπίστευκεν. ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἄξιον ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ἐνθυ-

μουμένους ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνα ἐδύναντο ποιεῖν μὴ ἐτέρων συμπραττόντων οὐτ' ἂν νῦν ἐπεχείρησαν ἐλθεῖν μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν οἰόμενοι σωθήσεσθαι, οἳ οὐ τούτοις ἤκουσι βοηθήσοντες, ἀλλὰ ἡγούμενοι πολλὴν ἄδειαν σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι τῶν τε πεπραγμένων καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ποιεῖν ὅτι ἂν βούλωνται, εἰ τοὺς μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίους λαβόντες ἀφήσετε.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ τῶν συνερούντων αὐτοῖς ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, ὅτι πότερον ὡς καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ αἰτήσονται, τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν πλείονος ἄξιαν ἀποφαίνοντες τῆς τούτων πονηρίας· ἐβουλόμην μὲντ' ἂν αὐτοὺς οὕτω προθύμους εἶναι σώζειν τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ οὗτοι ἀπολλύναι· ἢ ὡς δεινοὶ λέγειν ἀπολογήσονται καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔργα πολλοῦ ἄξια ἀποφανοῦσιν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τὰ δίκαια πώποτε ἐπεχείρησεν εἰπεῖν.

Ἄλλὰ τοὺς μάρτυρας ἄξιον ἰδεῖν, οἳ τούτοις μαρτυροῦντες αὐτῶν κατηγοροῦσι, σφόδρα ἐπιλήσμονας καὶ εὐήθεις νομίζοντες ὑμᾶς εἶναι, εἰ διὰ μὲν τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος ἀδεῶς ἡγοῦνται τοὺς τριάκοντα σώσειν, διὰ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένην καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτοῦ δεινὸν ἦν καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν. καίτοι οὗτοι μὲν σωθέντες πάλιν ἂν δύναιτο τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσαι· ἐκεῖνοι δέ, οὓς οὗτοι ἀπώλεσαν, τελευτήσαντες τὸν βίον πέρας ἔχουσι τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τιμωρίας. οὐκ οὖν δεινὸν εἰ τῶν μὲν ἀδίκως τεθνεώτων οἱ φίλοι συναπώλυντο, αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσασσι δήπου ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν πολλοὶ ἤξουσιν, ὅποτε βοηθεῖν τοσοῦτοι παρασκευάζονται; καὶ μὲν δὴ πολλῷ ῥᾶον ἡγούμαι εἶναι

ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑμεῖς ἐπάσχετε ἀντειπεῖν, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὧν οὗτοι πε-  
 ποιήκασιν ἀπολογήσασθαι. καίτοι λέγουσιν ὡς Ἐρα-  
 τοσθένι ἐλάχιστα τῶν τριάκοντα κακὰ εἰργασται, καὶ  
 διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἀξιούσι σωθῆναι· ὅτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων  
 Ἑλλήνων πλείστα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκεν, οὐκ οἶονται  
 90 χρῆναι αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι. ὑμεῖς δὲ δείξετε ἥντινα  
 γνώμην ἔχετε περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τού-  
 του καταψηφιεῖσθε, δῆλοι ἔσεσθε ὡς ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς  
 πεπραγμένοις· εἰ δὲ ἀποψηφιεῖσθε, ὀφθήσεσθε τῶν αὐ-  
 τῶν ἔργων ἐπιθυμηταὶ τούτοις ὄντες, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε  
 λέγειν ὅτι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα προσταχθέντα ἐποι-  
 95 εἴτε· νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζει παρὰ τὴν  
 ὑμετέραν γνώμην ἀποψηφίεσθαι. ὥστε συμβουλευώ  
 μὴ τούτων ἀποψηφισαμένους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καταψηφί-  
 σασθαι. μηδ' οἴεσθε κρίβδην εἶναι τὴν ψῆφον· φανε-  
 ρὰν γὰρ τῇ πόλει τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ποιήσετε.

99 Βούλομαι δὲ ὀλίγα ἐκατέρους ἀναμνήσας καταβαί-  
 νειν, τοὺς τε ἐξ ἄστεος καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Πειραιῶς, ἵνα τὰς  
 ὑμῖν διὰ τούτων γεγενημένας συμφορὰς παραδείγματα  
 ἔχοντες τὴν ψῆφον φέρητε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅσοι ἐξ  
 ἄστεός ἐστε, σκέψασθε ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτων οὕτω σφόδρα  
 ἤρχεσθε, ὥστε ἀδελφοῖς καὶ υἱέσι καὶ πολίταις ἠναγκά-  
 ζεσθε πολεμεῖν τοιοῦτον πόλεμον, ἐν ᾧ ἡττηθέντες μὲν  
 τοῖς νικήσασιν τὸ ἴσον ἔχετε, νικήσαντες δ' ἂν τούτοις  
 99 ἐδουλεύετε. καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῶν  
 πραγμάτων μεγάλους ἐκτήσαντο, ὑμεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸν πρὸς  
 ἀλλήλους πόλεμον ἐλάττους ἔχετε· συνωφελεῖσθαι μὲν  
 γὰρ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἡξίου, συνδιαβάλλεσθαι δ' ἠνάγκαζον,

εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑπεροψίας ἐλθόντες ὥστε οὐ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κοινούμενοι πιστοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐκτῶντο, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὀνειδῶν μεταδιδόντες εὖνους ᾤοντο εἶναι. ἀνθ' ὧν ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐν 94 τῷ θαρραλέῳ ὄντες, καθ' ὅσον δύνασθε καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς τιμωρήσασθε, ἐνθυμηθέντες μὲν ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτων πονηροτάτων ὄντων ἤρχεσθε, ἐνθυμηθέντες δὲ ὅτι μετ' ἀνδρῶν νῦν ὑρίστων πολιτεύεσθε καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθε καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως βουλευέσθε, ἀναμνησθέντες δὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων, οὓς οὗτοι φύλακας τῆς σφετέρας ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας δουλείας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατέστησαν. καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὲν ἔτι 95 πολλῶν ὄντων εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτα λέγω. ὅσοι δ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐστε, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ὅπλων ἀναμνήσθητε, ὅτι πολλὰς μάχας ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ μαχεσάμενοι οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτων εἰρήνης οὔσης ἀφηρέθητε τὰ ὅπλα, ἔπειθ' ὅτι ἐξεκηρύχθητε μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πατέρες παρέδωκαν, φεύγοντας δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξηγοῦντο. ἀνθ' ὧν ὀργίσθητε μὲν 96 ὥσπερ ὅτ' ἐφεύγετε, ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν ἃ πεπόνθατε ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οἳ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν συναρπάζοντες βιαίως ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τέκνων καὶ γονέων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀφέλκοντες φονέας αὐτῶν ἠνάγκασαν γενέσθαι καὶ οὐδὲ ταφῆς τῆς νομιζομένης εἶασαν. τυχεῖν, ἡγούμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν βεβαιότεραν εἶναι τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρίας. ὅσοι δὲ τὸν θάνατον διέφυγον, πολλαχοῦ κιν- 97 δυνεύσαντες καὶ εἰς πολλὰς πόλεις πλανηθέντες καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐκκηρυττόμενοι, ἐνδεεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἐπιτη-



δείων, οἱ μὲν ἐν πολεμίᾳ τῇ πατρίδι τοὺς παῖδας καταλιπόντες, οἱ δ' ἐν ξένη γῇ, πολλῶν ἐναντιουμένων ἤλθετε εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων ὑπαρξάντων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἤλευθε-  
 98 ρώσατε, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κατηγάγετε. εἰ δὲ ἐδυστυχήσατε καὶ τούτων ἡμάρτετε, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν δείσαντες ἐφεύγετε μὴ πάθῃτε τοιαῦτα οἷα καὶ πρότερον, καὶ οὗτ' ἂν ἱερὰ οὔτε βωμοὶ ὑμᾶς ἀδικουμένους διὰ τοὺς τούτων τρόπους ὠφέλησαν, ἃ καὶ τοῖς ἀδικούσι σωτήρια γίγνεται· οἱ δὲ παῖδες ὑμῶν, ὅσοι μὲν ἐνθάδε ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἂν ὑβρίζοντο, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ξένης μικρῶν ἂν ἕνεκα συμβολαίων ἐδούλευον ἐρῆμιά τῶν ἐπικουρησόντων.

99 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι βούλομαι λέγειν, τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτων οὐ δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑνὸς κατηγοροῦ οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν. ὅμως δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἐλλέλειπται, ὑπὲρ τε τῶν ἱερῶν, ἃ οὗτοι τὰ μὲν ἀπέδοντο τὰ δ' εἰσιόντες ἐμίσαινον, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς πόλεως, ἣν μικρὰν ἐποιοῦν, ὑπὲρ τε τῶν νεωρίων, ἃ καθείλον, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθνεώτων, οἷς ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ ζῶσιν ἐπαμῦναι οὐκ ἠδύνασθε, 100 ὑποθανοῦσι βοηθήσατε. οἶμαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἡμῶν τε ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς εἴσεσθαι τὴν ψῆφον φέροντας, ἡγουμένους, ὅσοι μὲν ἂν τούτων ἀποψηφίσθησθε, αὐτῶν θάνατον καταψηφιεῖσθαι, ὅσοι δ' ἂν παρὰ τούτων δίκην λάβωσιν, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰς τιμωρίας πεποιημένους.

Παύσομαι κατηγορῶν. ἀκηκόατε, ἐωράκατε, πεπόνθατε, ἔχετε· δικάζετε.

## XXV.

## ΔΗΜΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΛΥΣΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ.

ὙΜΙΝ μὲν πολλὴν συγγνώμην ἔχω, ὧς ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἀκούουσι τοιούτων λόγων καὶ ἀναμνησκομένοις τῶν γεγενημένων, ὁμοίως ἅπασιν ὀργίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐν ἄστει μέινασιν· τῶν δὲ κατηγορῶν θαυμάζω, οἳ ἀμελοῦντες τῶν οἰκείων τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιμελοῦνται· καὶ σαφῶς εἰδότες τοὺς μὴδὲν ἀδικούντας καὶ τοὺς πολλὰ ἐξημαρτηκότας ζητοῦσι [κερδαίνειν, ἢ] ὑμᾶς πείθειν περὶ ἀπάντων ἡμῶν τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔχειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν οἴονται, ἃ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα γεγέννηται τῇ πόλει, [πάνθ' ὁμοῦ] κατηγορηκένοι, ἀδυνάτους αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι λέγειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλοστὸν μέρος τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων εἰρήκασιν· εἰ δὲ ὡς ἐμοί τι προσῆκον περὶ αὐτῶν ποιοῦνται τοὺς λόγους, ἀποδείξω τούτους μὲν ἅπαντα ψευδομένους, ἑμαυτὸν δὲ τοιούτον ὄντα οἶός περ ἂν τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς ὁ βέλτιστος ἐν ἄστει μέινας ἐγένετο. δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν, ὧς ἄνδρες δικασταί, μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχειν τοῖς συκοφάνταις. τούτων μὲν γὰρ ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ τοὺς μὴδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας εἰς αἰτίαν καθιστάναι (ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα χρηματίζονται), ὑμέτερον δὲ τοῖς μὴδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν ἐξ ἴσου τῆς πολιτείας μεταδιδόναι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τοῖς καθεστηκόσι πράγμασι πλείστους συμμάχους ἔχοιτε. ἀξιῶ δέ, ὧς ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰάν

- ἀποφάνω συμφορᾶς μὲν μηδεμιᾶς αἴτιος γεγεννημένος, πολλὰ δὲ κἀγαθὰ εἰργασμένος τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι, ταῦτα γοῦν μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπάρχειν, ὧν οὐ μόνον τοὺς εὖ πεποιηκότας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μηδὲν
- 5 ἀδικούντας τυγχάνειν δίκαιόν ἐστι. μέγα μὲν οὖν ἡγοῦμαι [ἐμοὶ] τεκμήριον εἶναι, ὅτι, εἴπερ ἐδύναντο οἱ κατήγοροι ἰδίᾳ με ἀδικούντα ἐξελέγξαι, οὐκ ἂν τὰ τῶν τριάκοντα ἁμαρτήματα ἐμοῦ κατηγοροῦν, οὐδ' ἂν ᾤοντο χρῆναι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων ἑτέρους διαβάλλειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀδικούντας τιμωρεῖσθαι. νῦν δὲ νομίζουσι τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους ὀργὴν ἱκανὴν εἶναι καὶ τοὺς
- 6 μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργασμένους ἀπολέσαι. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι δίκαιον εἶναι οὔτε εἴ τις τῇ πόλει πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος γεγέννηται, ἄλλους τινὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων τιμὴν ἢ χάριν κομίσασθαι παρ' ὑμῶν, οὔτ' εἴ τις πολλὰ κακὰ εἰργασμένοι εἰσὶν, εἰκότως ἂν δι' ἐκείνους τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικούντας ὀνειδούς καὶ διαβολῆς τυγχάνειν. ἱκανοὶ γὰρ οἱ ὑπάρχοντες ἐχθροὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ μέγα κέρδος νομίζοντες εἶναι τοὺς ἀδίκως ἐν ταῖς διαβολαῖς καθεστηκότας.
- 7 Πειράσομαι δ' ὑμᾶς διδάξαι, οὓς ἡγοῦμαι τῶν πολιτῶν προσήκειν ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ δημοκρατίας. ἐκ τούτου γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς γνώσεσθε, [κἀγὼ περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπολογία ποιήσομαι, ἀποφαίνων] ὥς οὔτε ἐξ ὧν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ οὔτε ἐξ ὧν ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πεποίηκα, οὐδὲν μοι προσήκον κακόνουν εἶναι τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ.
- 8 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐνθυμηθῆναι χρὴ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει οὔτε ὀλιγαρχικὸς οὔτε δημοκρατικὸς, ἀλλ'

ἥτις ἂν ἐκάστω πολιτεία συμφέρη, ταύτην προθυμεῖται καθιστάναι· ὥστε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ μέρος ὡς πλείστους ἐπιθυμεῖν τῶν παρόντων νυνὶ πραγμάτων. καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων μαθήσεσθε· σκέψασθε γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τοὺς προστάτας ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πολιτειῶν, ὅσακις δὴ μετεβύλλοντο. οὐ Φρύνιχος μὲν καὶ Πείσανδρος καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνων δημαγωγοί, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξήμαρτον, τὰς περὶ τούτων δέισαντες τιμωρίας τὴν προτέραν ὀλιγαρχίαν κατέστησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν τετρακοσίων μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς συγκατήλθον, ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ἐκείνους ἐκβαλόντων αὐτοὶ αὐθις τῶν τριάκοντα ἐγένοντο; εἰσὶ δὲ οἷτινες τῶν Ἐλευσινιάδε ἀπογραψάμενων, ἐξελθόντες μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς μεθ' αὐτῶν. οὐκ οὐκ χαλεπὸν γινῶναι, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅτι οὐ περὶ πολιτείας εἰσὶν αἱ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφοραί, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἰδίᾳ συμφερόντων ἐκάστω. ὑμᾶς οὖν χρὴ ἐκ τούτων δοκιμάζειν τοὺς πολίτας, σκοποῦντας μὲν ὅπως ἦσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πεπολιτευμένοι, ζητοῦντας δὲ ἥτις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο ὠφέλεια τῶν πραγμάτων μεταπεσόντων· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν δικαιωτάτην τὴν κρίσιν περὶ αὐτῶν ποιοῖσθε. ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἡγοῦμαι, ὅσοι μὲν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἄτιμοι ἦσαν εὐθύνας δεδωκότες ἢ τῶν ὄντων ἀπεστερημένοι ἢ ἄλλη τινὲ συμφορᾷ τοιαύτῃ κεχρημένοι, προσήκειν αὐτοῖς ἐτέρας ἐπιθυμεῖν πολιτείας, ἐλπίζοντας τὴν μεταβολὴν ὠφέλειάν τινα αὐτοῖς ἔσσεσθαι· ὅσοι δὲ τὸν δῆμον πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἰργασμένοι εἰσὶ, κακὸν δὲ μηδὲν πώποτε, ὀφείλεται δὲ αὐτοῖς χάριν κομίσασθαι

παρ' ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ δοῦναι δίκην τῶν πεπραγμένων,  
 οὐκ ἄξιον τὰς περὶ τούτων ἀποδέχεσθαι διαβολάς, οὐδ'  
 ἂν πάντες οἱ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττοντες ὀλιγαρχικούς  
 12 αὐτοὺς φάσκωσιν εἶναι. ἐμοὶ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί,  
 οὐτ' ἰδία οὔτε δημοσίᾳ συμφορὰ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ οὐ-  
 δεμία πώποτε ἐγένετο, ἀνθ' ἧστινος ἂν προθυμούμενος  
 τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐτέρων ἐπεθύμουν  
 πραγμάτων. τετρηιρῦρχηκα μὲν γὰρ πεντάκις, καὶ τε-  
 τράκις νευαυμάχηκα, καὶ εἰσφορὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πολλὰς  
 εἰσενήνοχα, καὶ τᾶλλα λελειτούργηκα οὐδεὶος χεῖρον  
 13 τῶν πολιτῶν. καίτοι διὰ τοῦτο πλείω τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πό-  
 λεως προσταττομένων ἔδαπανώμην, ἵνα καὶ βελτίων ὑφ'  
 ὑμῶν νομιζοίμην, καὶ εἴ πού μοί τις συμφορὰ γένοιτο,  
 ἄμεινον ἀγωνιζοίμην. ὦν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἀπάντων  
 ἀπεστερούμην· οὐ γὰρ τοὺς τῷ πλήθει ἀγαθοῦ τιнос  
 αἰτίους γεγενημένους χάριτος παρ' αὐτῶν ἠξίουں τυγ-  
 χάνειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πλείστα κακὰ ὑμᾶς εἰργασμένους εἰς  
 τὰς τιμὰς καθίστασαν, ὡς ταύτην παρ' ἡμῶν πίστιν  
 εἰληφότες. ἂ χρὴ πάντας ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ τοῖς τού-  
 των λόγοις πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων σποπεῖν ἂ  
 14 ἐκάστῳ τυγχάνει πεπραγμένα. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δι-  
 κασταί, οὔτε τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐγενόμην· ἢ τῶν κατηγό-  
 ρων ὁ βουλόμενος παρελθὼν ἐλεγξάτω· οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ'  
 ἐπειδὴ οἱ τριάκοντα κατέστησαν, οὐδεὶς με ἀποδείξει  
 οὔτε βουλευσάντα οὔτε ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄρξαντα. καί-  
 τοι εἰ μὲν ἐξόν μοι ἄρχειν μὴ ἡβουλόμην, ὑφ' ὑμῶν  
 νυνὶ τιμᾶσθαι δίκαιός ἐμι· εἰ δὲ οἱ τότε δυνάμενοι  
 μὴ ἠξίουں μοι μεταδιδόναι τῶν πραγμάτων, πῶς ἂν

φανερώτερον ἢ οὕτω ψευδομένους ἀποδείξαιμι τοὺς κατηγόρους;

Ἔτι τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων 13 τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων ἄξιον σκέψασθαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἑμαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς παρέσχον ὥστε, εἰ πάντες τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔσχον ἐμοί, μηδένα ἂν ὑμῶν μηδεμιᾷ κεχρηῆσθαι συμφορᾷ. ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ οὔτε ἀπαχθεῖς οὐδεῖς φανήσεται, οὔτε τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεῖς τετιμωρημένος, οὔτε τῶν φίλων εὖ πεπονθώς. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἄξιον θαυμάζειν· εὖ 16 μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ χαλεπὸν ἦν, ἔξαμαρτάνειν δὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ ῥάδιον. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' εἰς τὸν κατάλογον Ἀθηναίων καταλέξας οὐδένα φανήσομαι, οὐδὲ δίαίταν καταδiciaitησάμενος οὐδενός, οὐδὲ πλουσιώτερος ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων γεγονὼς συμφορῶν. καίτοι εἰ τοῖς τῶν γεγενημένων κακῶν αἰτίοις ὀργίζεσθε, εἰκὸς καὶ τοὺς μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας βελτίους ὑφ' ὑμῶν νομίζεσθαι. καὶ 17 μὲν δὴ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μεγίστην ἡγοῦμαι περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πίστιν δεδωκέναι. ὅστις γὰρ τότε οὐδὲν ἐξήμαρτον οὕτω πολλῆς δεδομένης ἐξουσίας, ἢ πού νῦν σφόδρα προθυμηθήσομαι χρηστὸς εἶναι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι, εἰν ἀδικῶ, παραχρήμα δώσω δίκην. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοιαύτην διὰ τέλους γνώμην ἔχω, ὥστε ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ μὲν μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δὲ τὰ ὄντα προθύμως εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀναλίσκειν.

Ἡγοῦμαι δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ὑμᾶς 18 μισεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ μηδὲν πεπονθότας κακόν, ἔξον ὀργίζεσθαι τοῖς εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐξημαρτηκόσιν, οὐδὲ

τοὺς μὴ φυγόντας ἐχθροὺς νομίζειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐκβαλόντας, οὐδὲ τοὺς προθυμουμένους τὰ ἑαυτῶν σῶσαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφηρεμένους, οὐδὲ οἱ τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἕνεκα ἔμειναν ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ἀλλ' οἷτινες ἐτέρους ἀπολέσαι βουλόμενοι μετέσχον τῶν πραγμάτων. εἰ δὲ οἴεσθε χρῆναι, οὓς ἐκείνοι παρέλιπον ἀδικούντες, ὑμεῖς ἀπολέσαι, οὐδεὶς τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπολειφθήσεται.

19 Σκοπεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί. πάντες γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ δημοκρατίᾳ τῶν τὰ τῆς πόλεως πραττόντων πολλοὶ μὲν τὰ δημόσια ἔκλεπτον, ἔνιοι δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐδωροδόκουν, οἱ δὲ συκοφαντοῦντες τοὺς συμμάχους ἀφίστασαν. καὶ εἰ μὲν οἱ τριάκοντα τούτους μόνους ἐτιμωροῦντο, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἂν αὐτοὺς ἡγείσθε· νῦν δέ, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκείνοις ἡμαρτημένων τὸ πλῆθος κακῶς ποιεῖν ἡξίουں, ἡγανακτεῖτε, ἡγούμενοι δεινὸν εἶναι τὰ [τῶν]

20 ὀλίγων ἀδικήματα πάσῃ τῇ πόλει γίνεσθαι κοινά. οὐ τοίνυν ἄξιον χρῆσθαι τούτοις, οἷς ἐκείνους ἐωρᾶτε ἐξαμαρτάνοντας, οὐδὲ ἂν πάσχοντες ἄδικα ἐνομίζετε πᾶσχειν, ὅταν ἐτέρους ποιῇτε, δίκαια ἡγείσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν κατελθόντες περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην ἔχετε, ἣν περ φεύγοντες [περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν] εἶχετε· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ καὶ ὁμόνοιαν πλείστην ποιήσετε, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἔσται μεγίστη, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀνιάρωτα ψηφιεῖσθε.

21 Ἐνθυμηθῆναι δὲ χρὴ, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα γεγενημένων, ἵνα τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἁμαρτήματα ἄμεινον ὑμᾶς ποιήσῃ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν

βουλεύσασθαι. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἀκούοιτε τοὺς ἐν ἄστει τὴν  
 αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, μικρὺς ἐλπίδας εἶχετε τῆς καθό-  
 δου, ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἡμετέραν ὁμόνοιαν μέγιστον κακὸν  
 εἶναι τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ φυγῇ· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπυνθάνεσθε τοὺς 21  
 μὲν τρισχιλίους στασιάζοντας, τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ πολίτας  
 ἐκκεκρυγμένους ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, τοὺς δὲ τριάκοντα μὴ  
 τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχοντας, πλείους δὲ ὄντας τοὺς ὑπὲρ  
 ὑμῶν δεδιότας ἢ τοὺς ὑμῖν πολεμοῦντας, τότε ἤδη καὶ  
 κατιέναι προσεδοκᾶτε καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λήψεσθαι  
 δίκην. ταῦτα γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχεσθε, ἅπερ ἐκείνους  
 ἐωρᾶτε ποιοῦντας, ἡγούμενοι διὰ τὴν τῶν τριάκοντα  
 πονηρίαν πολὺ μᾶλλον σωθήσεσθαι ἢ διὰ τὴν τῶν φευ-  
 γόντων δύναμιν κατιέναι. χρή τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικα- 22  
 σταί, τοῖς πρότερον γεγενημένοις παραδείγμασι χρωμέ-  
 νους βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τού-  
 τους ἡγέσθαι δημοτικωτάτους, οἵτινες ὁμονοεῖν ὑμᾶς  
 βουλόμενοι τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐμμένουσι,  
 νομίζοντες καὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτην ἱκανωτάτην εἶναι σω-  
 τηρίαν καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μεγίστην τιμωρίαν· οὐδὲν γὰρ  
 ἂν εἴη αὐτοῖς χαλεπώτερον τούτων, ἢ πυνθάνεσθαι μὲν  
 ἡμᾶς μετέχοντας τῶν πραγμάτων, αἰσθάνεσθαι δὲ οὕτως  
 διακειμένους τοὺς πολίτας ὥσπερ μηδενὸς ἐγκλήματος  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους γεγενημένου. χρή δὲ εἰδέναί, ὦ ἄνδρες 24  
 δικασταί, ὅτι οἱ φεύγοντες τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὡς πλεί-  
 στους καὶ διαβεβλήσθαι καὶ ἡτιμῶσθαι βούλονται, ἐλ-  
 πίζοντες τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀδικουμένους ἑαυτοῖς ἔσεσθαι  
 συμμάχους, τοὺς δὲ συκοφάντας εὐδοκιμεῖν δέξαιντ' ἂν  
 παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ μέγα δύνασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει· τὴν γὰρ  
 τούτων πονηρίαν ἑαυτῶν ἡγοῦνται σωτηρίαν.



25 Ἄξιον δὲ μνησθῆναι καὶ τῶν μετὰ τοὺς τετρακοσίους  
 πραγμάτων· εὖ γὰρ εἴσεσθε ὅτι, ἃ μὲν οὗτοι συμβου-  
 λεύουσιν, οὐδεπώποτε ὑμῖν ἐλυσιτέλησεν, ἃ δ' ἐγὼ παρ-  
 αινῶ, ἀμφοτέραις ἀεὶ ταῖς πολιτείαις συμφέρει. ἴστε  
 γὰρ Ἐπιγένην καὶ Δημοφάνην καὶ Κλεισθένην ἰδίᾳ μὲν  
 καρπωσαμένους τὰς τῆς πόλεως συμφορὰς, δημοσίᾳ δὲ  
 26 ὄντας μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίους. ἐνίων μὲν γὰρ ἔπεισαν  
 ὑμᾶς ἀκρίτων θάνατον καταψηφίσασθαι, πολλῶν δὲ  
 ἀδίκως δημεῦσαι τὰς οὐσίας, τοὺς δ' ἐξελάσαι καὶ ἀτι-  
 μῶσαι τῶν πολιτῶν· τοιοῦτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ὥστε τοὺς μὲν  
 ἡμαρτηκότας ἀργύριον λαμβάνοντες ἀφίεναι, τοὺς δὲ  
 μηδὲν ἡδικοτάς εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιόντες ἀπολλύναι. καὶ οὐ  
 πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο, ἕως τὴν μὲν πόλιν εἰς στάσεις καὶ  
 τὰς μεγίστας συμφορὰς κατέστησαν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐκ πενή-  
 27 των πλούσιοι ἐγένοντο. ὑμεῖς δὲ οὕτως διετέθητε ὥστε  
 τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας κατεδέξασθε, τοὺς δ' ἀτίμους ἐπιτί-  
 μους ἐποιήσατε, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις περὶ ὁμονοίας ὄρκους ὤμ-  
 νυτε· τελευτῶντες δὲ ἥδιον ἂν τοὺς ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ  
 συκοφαντοῦντας ἐτιμωρήσασθε ἢ τοὺς ἄρξαντας ἐν τῇ  
 ὀλιγαρχίᾳ. καὶ εἰκότως, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί· πᾶσι γὰρ  
 ἤδη φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι διὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀδίκως πολιτευομέ-  
 νους ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ δημοκρατία γίγνεται, διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐν  
 τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ συκοφαντοῦντας ὀλιγαρχία δις κατέστη·  
 ὥστε οὐκ ἄξιον τούτοις πολλάκις χρῆσθαι συμβούλοις,  
 28 οἷς οὐδὲ ἅπαξ ἐλυσιτέλησε πειθομένοις. σκέψασθαι δὲ  
 χρὴ ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς οἱ μεγίστην δόξαν ἔχοντες  
 καὶ μάλιστα κεκινδυνευκότες καὶ πλείστα ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ  
 εἰργασμένοι πολλάκις ἤδη τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει διεκελεύ-

σαντο τοῖς ὄρκοις καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐμμένειν, ἡγούμε-  
 νοι ταύτην δημοκρατίας εἶναι φυλακὴν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ  
 ἐξ ἄστεος ὑπὲρ τῶν παρεληλυθότων ἄδειαν ποιήσειν,  
 τοῖς δ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς οὕτω πλείστον χρόνον τὴν πολι-  
 τείαν ἂν παραμείναι. οἷς ὑμεῖς πολὺ ἂν δικαιότερον ἢ  
 πιστεύοιτε ἢ τούτοις, οἳ φεύγοντες μὲν δι' ἐτέρους ἐσώ-  
 θησαν, κατελθόντες δὲ συκοφαντεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. ἡγού-  
 μαι δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τοὺς μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην  
 ἔχοντας ἐμοὶ τῶν ἐν ἄστει μεινάντων φανεροὺς γεγε-  
 νῆσθαι καὶ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὁποῖοί τινές  
 εἰσι πολῖται· τούτων δ' ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, ὃ τι ἂν ἐποίη-  
 σαν, εἴ τις αὐτοὺς εἶασε τῶν τριάκοντα γενέσθαι, οἳ νῦν  
 δημοκρατίας οὔσης ταυτὰ ἐκείνοις πράττουσι, καὶ ταχέως  
 μὲν ἐκ πενήτων πλούσιοι γεγέννηται, πολλὰς δὲ ἀρχὰς  
 ἄρχοντες οὐδεμιᾶς εὐθύνην διδόασιν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ μὲν ὁμο-  
 νοίας ὑποψίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πεποιήκασιν, ἀντὶ δὲ εἰρή-  
 νης πόλεμον κατηγγέλκασιν, διὰ τούτους δὲ ἄπιστοι τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησι γεγενήμεθα. καὶ τοσούτων κακῶν καὶ ἐτέρων  
 πολλῶν ὄντες αἴτιοι, καὶ οὐδὲν διαφέροντες τῶν τριά-  
 κοντα πλην ὅτι ἐκείνοι μὲν ὀλιγαρχίας οὔσης ἐπεθύμουν  
 ὥνπερ οὗτοι, οὗτοι δὲ δημοκρατίας τῶν αὐτῶν ὥνπερ  
 ἐκείνοι, ὅμως οἶονται χρῆναι οὕτω ῥαδίως ὅν ἂν βού-  
 λωνται κακῶς ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀδικούν-  
 των, ἄριστοι δὲ ἄνδρες αὐτοὶ γεγενημένοι. καὶ τούτων  
 μὲν οὐκ ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, ὑμῶν δέ, ὅτι οὔεσθε μὲν δημο-  
 κρατίαν εἶναι, γίγνεται δὲ ὃ τι ἂν οὗτοι βούλωνται, καὶ  
 δίκην διδόασιν οὐχ οἳ τὸ ὑμέτερον πλήθος ἀδικούντες,  
 ἀλλ' οἳ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν μὴ διδόντες. καὶ δέξαιντ' ἂν

μικρὰν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἄλλους μεγάλην  
 33 καὶ ἐλευθέραν, ἡγούμενοι νῦν μὲν διὰ τοὺς ἐκ Πειραιῶς  
 [κινδύνους] αὐτοῖς ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται, ἐὰν  
 δ' ὕστερον ὑμῖν δι' ἑτέρους σωτηρία γένηται, τούτους  
 μὲν ἐπιλύσεσθαι, ἐκείνους δὲ μείζον δυνήσεσθαι· ὥστε  
 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δέισαντες ἐμποδῶν εἰσιν, ἐάν τι δι' ἄλλων  
 34 ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν φαίνεται. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐ χαλεπὸν τῷ  
 βουλομένῳ κατανοῆσαι· αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσι  
 λανθάνειν, ἀλλ' αἰσχύνονται μὴ δοκοῦντες εἶναι πωνηροί,  
 ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν αὐτοὶ ὁρᾶτε τὰ δ' ἑτέρων πολλῶν ἀκού-  
 ετε. ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, δίκαιον μὲν ἡγοῦμεθ'  
 εἶναι πρὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς τοὺς πολίτας ταῖς συνθήκαις  
 35 καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένειν, ὅμως δέ, ὅταν μὲν ἴδωμεν τοὺς  
 τῶν κακῶν αἰτίους δίκην διδόντας, τῶν τότε περὶ ὑμᾶς  
 γεγενημένων μεμνημένοι συγγνώμην ἔχομεν, ὅταν δὲ  
 φανεροὶ γένησθε τοὺς μηδὲν αἰτίους ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἀδι-  
 κοῦσι τιμωρούμενοι, τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰς ὑπο-  
 [ψίαν καταστήσετε . . .]

## VII.

## ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΙΤΙΚΟΣ.

## ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΤ ΣΗΚΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ.

ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ μὲν, ὃ βουλή, ἐνόμιζον ἐξεῖναι τῷ  
 βουλομένῳ, ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντι, μήτε δίκας ἔχειν μήτε πρά-  
 γματα· νυνὶ δὲ οὕτως ἀπροσδοκήτοις αἰτίαις καὶ πονη-  
 ροῖς συκοφάνταις περιπέπτωκα, ὥστ' εἴ πως οἶόν τε,  
 δοκεῖ μοι δεῖν καὶ τοὺς μὴ γεγονότας ἤδη δεδιέναι περὶ  
 τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους οἱ κίν-  
 δυνοὶ κοινοὶ γίγνονται καὶ τοῖς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσι καὶ τοῖς  
 πολλὰ ἡμαρτηκόσιν. οὕτω δ' ἄπορος ὁ ἀγὼν μοι καθέ- 2  
 στηκεν, ὥστε ἀπεγράψην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐλαίαν ἐκ τῆς  
 γῆς ἀφανίζειν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐωνημένους τοὺς καρποὺς  
 τῶν μοριῶν πυνθανόμενοι προσήεσαν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ τού-  
 του τοῦ τρόπου ἀδικοῦντά με οὐδὲν εὑρεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν,  
 νυνὶ με σηκὸν φασιν ἀφανίζειν, ἡγούμενοι ἐμοὶ μὲν  
 ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπορωτάτην εἶναι ἀπελέγξαι, αὐτοῖς  
 δὲ ἐξεῖναι μᾶλλον ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται λέγειν. καὶ δεῖ 3  
 με, περὶ ὧν οὗτος ἐπιβεβουλευκὼς ἦκει, ἅμ' ὑμῖν τοῖς  
 διαγνωσόμενοις περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀκούσαντα καὶ περὶ  
 τῆς πατρίδος καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἀγωνίσασθαι. ὅμως  
 δὲ πειράσσομαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμᾶς διδάξαι. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ 4  
 τοῦτο Πεισάνδρου τὸ χωρίον, δημευθέντων δὲ τῶν ἐκεί-  
 νου Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Μεγαρεὺς δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου

- λαβὼν τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐγεώργει, ὀλίγῳ δὲ πρὸ  
 τῶν τριάκοντα Ἀντικλῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ πριάμενος ἐξεμί-  
 σθωσεν· ἐγὼ δὲ παρ' Ἀντικλέους εἰρήνης οὔσης ὠνού-  
 5 μαι. ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν, ὦ βουλή, ἐμὸν ἔργον ἀποδείξαι  
 ὥς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον ἐκτησύμην, οὐτ' ἐλαία οὔτε σηκὸς  
 ἐνὴν ἐν αὐτῷ. νομίζω γὰρ τοῦ μὲν προτέρου χρόνου,  
 οὐδ' εἰ πάλαι ἐνήσαν μορίαί, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ζημιού-  
 σθαι· εἰ γὰρ μὴ δι' ἡμᾶς εἰσιν ἡφανισμένοι, οὐδὲν προσ-  
 ἥκει περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀμαρτημάτων ὥς ἀδικοῦντας  
 6 κινδυνεύειν. πάντες γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ὁ πόλεμος καὶ  
 ἄλλων πολλῶν αἴτιος κακῶν γεγένηται, καὶ τὰ μὲν  
 πόρρω ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτέμνετο, τὰ δ' ἐγγὺς ὑπὸ  
 τῶν φίλων διηρηπάζετο· ὥστε πῶς ἂν δικαίως ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 τῇ πόλει γεγεννημένων συμφορῶν ἐγὼ νυνὶ δίκην δι-  
 δοίην; ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ  
 7 δημευθεὶν ἄπρακτον ἦν πλεῖν ἢ τρία ἔτη. οὐ θαυμαστὸν  
 δ' εἰ τότε τὰς μορίας ἐξέκοπτον, ἐν ᾧ οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερ'  
 αὐτῶν φυλάττειν ἠδυνάμεθα. ἐπίστασθε δέ, ὦ βουλή,  
 ὅσῳ μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελείσθε, πολλὰ ἐν ἐκεί-  
 νῳ τῷ χρόνῳ δασέα ὄντα ἰδίαις καὶ μορίαῖς ἐλαίαις, ὧν  
 νῦν τὰ πολλὰ ἐκκέκοπται καὶ ἡ γῆ ψιλὴ γεγένηται· καὶ  
 τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κεκτημέ-  
 νων οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐτέρων ἐκκοψάντων, δίκην  
 8 λαμβάνειν. καίτοι εἰ τοὺς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου γεωρ-  
 γοῦντας τῆς αἰτίας ἀφίετε, ἢ που χρὴ τοὺς γ' ἐν τῇ εἰ-  
 ρήνῃ πριαμένους ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀζημίους γενέσθαι.
- 9 Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ βουλή, περὶ μὲν τῶν πρότερον γεγε-  
 νημένων πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ἱκανὰ νομίζω τὰ εἰρημένα·

ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγὼ παρέλαβον τὸ χωρίον, πρὶν ἡμέρας πέντε γενέσθαι, ἀπεμίσθωσα Καλλιστράτῳ, ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος· ὃς δύο ἔτη ἐγεώργησεν, οὔτε ἰδίαν ἐλαίαν ἢ οὔτε μορίαν οὔτε σηκὸν παραλαβών. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Δημήτριος οὕτως ἐιργάσατο· τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ Ἀλκίᾳ Ἀντισθένης ἀπελευθέρῳ ἐμίσθωσα, ὃς τέθνηκε· κατὰ τρία ἔτη ὁμοίως καὶ Πρωτέας ἐμισθώσατο. Καί μοι δεῦρο ἵτε μάρτυρες.

## MARTYRES.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξήκει, αὐτὸς γεωργῶ. 11  
φησὶ δὲ ὁ κατήγορος ἐπὶ Σουνιάδου ἄρχοντος σηκὸν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐκκεκόφθαι. ὑμῖν δὲ μεμαρτυρήκασιν οἱ πρότερον ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη παρ' ἐμοῦ μεμισθωμένοι μὴ εἶναι σηκὸν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ. καίτοι πῶς ἂν τις φανερωτέρως ἐξελέγξειε ψευδόμενον τὸν κατήγορον; οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε, ἂ πρότερον μὴ ἦν, ταῦτα τὸν ὕστερον ἐργαζόμενον ἀφανίζειν.

Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ βουλή, ἐν μὲν τῷ τέως χρόνῳ, ὅσοι 12  
με φάσκοιεν δεῶν εἶναι καὶ ἀκριβῆ καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἰκῇ καὶ ἀλογίστως ποιῆσαι, ἡγανάκτουν ἂν, αἰρούμενος μᾶλλον λέγεσθαι ὥς μοι πρᾶσῆκε· νῦν δὲ πάντας ἂν ὑμᾶς βουλοίμην περὶ ἐμοῦ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, ἵνα ἡγήσθῃ με σκοπεῖν, εἴπερ τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπεχείρουν, καὶ ὅ τι κέρδος ἐγίγνετο [τῷ] ἀφανίσαντι καὶ ἥτις ζημία [τῷ] περιποιήσαντι, καὶ τί ἂν λαθὼν διεπραξάμην καὶ τί ἂν φανερὸς γενόμενος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔπασχαν. πάντες 13  
γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ὕβρεως ἀλλὰ κέρδους

ἔνεκα ποιούσι· καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς οὕτω σκοπεῖν, καὶ τοὺς  
 ἀντιδίκους ἐκ τούτων τὰς κατηγορίας ποιείσθαι, ἀπο-  
 14 φαίνοντας ἥτις ὠφέλεια τοῖς ἀδίκησασιν ἐγίγνετο. οὐ-  
 τος μέντοι οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι ἀποδείξαι οὐθ' ὥς ὑπὸ πενίας  
 ἠναγκάσθην τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐθ' ὥς τὸ χω-  
 ρίον μοι διαφθείρεται τοῦ σηκοῦ ὄντος, οὐθ' ὥς ἀμπέ-  
 λους ἐμποδῶν ἦν, οὐθ' ὥς οἰκίας ἐγγύς, οὐθ' ὥς ἐγὼ  
 ἄπειρος τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν κινδύνων. ἐγὼ δέ, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον  
 15 ἔπραττον, πολλὰς ἂν καὶ μεγάλας ἐμαυτῷ ζημίας γενο-  
 πτον τὸν σηκόν, ὥσπερ οὐ πάντας λαθεῖν δέον, ἀλλὰ  
 πάντας Ἀθηναίους εἰδέναι. καὶ εἰ μὲν αἰσχροὺς ἦν μόνον  
 τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἴσως ἂν τις τῶν παριόντων ἡμέλυσεν· νῦν δ'  
 οὐ περὶ αἰσχύνης ἀλλὰ τῆς μεγίστης ζημίας ἐκινδύνευον.  
 16 πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἀθλιώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, εἰ  
 τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ θεράποντας μηκέτι δούλους ἐμελλον ἔξειν  
 ἀλλὰ δεσπότας τὸν λοιπὸν βίον, τοιοῦτον ἔργον συνει-  
 δότας; ὥστε εἰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα εἰς ἐμὲ ἐξημάρτανον,  
 οὐκ ἂν οἴός τε ἦν δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν· εὖ γὰρ  
 ἂν ᾔδειν ὅτι ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἦν καὶ ἐμὲ τιμωρήσασθαι καὶ  
 17 αὐτοῖς μηνύσασιν ἐλευθέρους γενέσθαι. ἔτι τοίνυν εἰ  
 τῶν οἰκετῶν παρέστη μοι μηδὲν φροντίζειν, πῶς ἂν ἐτόλ-  
 μησα τοσούτων μεμισθωμένων καὶ ἀπάντων συνειδότην  
 ἀφανίσαι τὸν σηκὸν βραχέος μὲν κέρδους ἔνεκα, προ-  
 θεσμίας δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης τῷ κινδύνῳ τοῖς εἰργασμένοις  
 ἅπασιν τὸ χωρίον ὁμοίως προσήκον εἶναι σὼν τὸν σηκόν,  
 ἵν' εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ἠτιάτο, εἶχον ἀνενεγκεῖν ὅτῳ παρέδο-  
 σαν; νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ἀπολύσαντες φαίνονται, καὶ σφᾶς

αυτοὺς, εἴπερ ψεύδονται, μετόχους τῆς αἰτίας καθιστάν-  
 τεσ. εἰ τοίνυν καὶ ταῦτα παρεσκευασάμην, πῶς ἂν οἷός 18  
 τ' ἦν πάντα πείσαι τοὺς παριόντας, ἢ τοὺς γείτονας,  
 οἳ οὐ μόνον ἀλλήλων ταῦτ' ἴσασιν ἀ πᾶσιν ὁρᾶν ἔξεστιν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀποκρυπτόμενοι οἴομεθα μηδένα εἰδέ-  
 ναι, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων πυνθάνονται; ἐμοὶ τοίνυν τούτων  
 οἱ μὲν φίλοι οἱ δὲ διάφοροι περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν τυγχάνουσιν  
 ὄντες. οὗς ἐχρῆν τοῦτον παρασχέσθαι μάρτυρας, καὶ 19  
 μὴ μόνον οὕτως τολμηρὰς κατηγορίας ποιείσθαι. ὅς  
 φησιν ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν παρειστήκειν, οἱ δ' οἰκέται ἐξέτεμνον  
 τὰ πρέμνα, ἀναθέμενος δὲ ὁ βοηλάτης ὄχλητο ἀπάγων  
 τὰ ξύλα. καίτοι, ὦ Νικόμαχε, χρῆν σε τότε καὶ παρα- 20  
 καλεῖν τοὺς παριόντας μάρτυρας, καὶ φανερόν ποιεῖν τὸ  
 πρᾶγμα. καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἂν ἀπολογίαν ὑπέλιπες,  
 αὐτὸς δέ, εἰ μὲν σοι ἐχθρὸς ἦν, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ  
 ᾗσθα ἂν με τετιμωρημένος, εἰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἕνεκα  
 ἔπραττες, οὕτως ἐξελέγξας οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκεις εἶναι συκο-  
 φάντης, εἰ δὲ κερδαίνειν ἐβούλου, τότε ἂν πλείστον ἔλα- 21  
 βες. φανεροῦ γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ πράγματος οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην  
 ἡγούμην ἂν εἶναί μοι σωτηρίαν ἢ σὲ πείσαι. τούτων  
 τοίνυν οὐδὲν ποιήσας διὰ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἀξιοῖς με  
 ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ κατηγορεῖς ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς δυνάμεως  
 καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν χρημάτων οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει σοι μαρτυρεῖν. 22  
 καίτοι εἰ φήνας μ' ἰδὼν τὴν μορίαν ἀφανίζοντα τοὺς ἐν-  
 νέα ἄρχοντας ἐπήγαγες ἢ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ἐξ Ἀρείου  
 πάγου, οὐκ ἂν ἐτέρων ἔδει σοι μαρτύρων. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν  
 σοι συνήδεσαν ἀληθῆ λέγοντι, οἵπερ καὶ διαγιγνώσκουσιν  
 ἔμελλον περὶ τοῦ πράγματος. δεινότατα οὖν πάσχω, 23



ὅσῳ εἰ μὲν παρέσχετο μάρτυρας, τούτοις ἂν ἡξίου πιστεύειν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ, ἐμοὶ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ζημίαν οἶεται χρῆναι γενέσθαι. καὶ τούτου μὲν οὐ θαυμάζω· οὐ γὰρ δῆπου συκοφαντῶν ἅμα τοιούτων τε λόγων ἀπορήσει καὶ μαρτύρων· ὑμᾶς δ' οὐκ ἄξιόν τὴν  
 24 αὐτὴν τούτῳ γνώμην ἔχειν. ἐπίστασθε γὰρ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πολλὰς μορίας οὔσας καὶ πυρκαϊὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς χωρίοις, ἃς, εἴπερ ἐπεθύμουν, πολὺ ἦν ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ ἀφανίσαι καὶ ἐκκόψαι καὶ ἐπεργάσασθαι, ὅσῳ περ ἦττον τὸ ἀδίκημα πολλῶν οὐσῶν ἔμελλε δῆλον  
 25 ἔσεσθαι. νῦν δ' οὕτως αὐτὰς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεαι ὥσπερ [καὶ τὴν πατρίδα] καὶ τὴν ἄλλην οὐσίαν, ἡγοῦμενος περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων εἶναί μοι τὸν κίνδυνον. αὐτοὺς τοίνυν ὑμᾶς τούτων μάρτυρας παρέξομαι, ἐπιμελουμένους μὲν ἐκάστου μηνός, γνώμονας δὲ πέμποντας καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν· ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἐξημίωσέ μ' ὥς  
 26 ἐργαζόμενον τὰ περὶ τὰς μορίας χωρία. καίτοι σὺ δὴ πού τις μὲν μικρὰς ζημίας οὕτω περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεαι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κινδύνους [οὕτω] περὶ σὺδενός ἡγοῦμαι· καὶ τὰς μὲν πολλὰς ἐλαίας, εἰς ἃς ἐξὴν μᾶλλον ἐξαμαρτάνειν, οὕτω θεραπεύων φαίνομαι, τὴν δὲ μορίαν, ἣν οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν λαθεῖν ἐξορύξαντα, ὥς ἀφανί-  
 27 ζων νυνὶ κρίνομαι; Πότερον δέ μοι κρεῖττον ἦν, ὃ βουλή, δημοκρατίας οὔσης παρανομεῖν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα; καὶ οὐ λέγω ὥς τότε δυνάμενος ἢ ὥς νῦν διαβεβλημένος, ἀλλ' ὥς τῷ βουλομένῳ τότε μᾶλλον ἐξὴν ἀδικεῖν ἢ νυνί. ἐγὼ τοίνυν οὐδ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ οὔτε τοιοῦτον οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν κακὸν ποιήσας φανήσο-

μαι. Πῶς δ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἑμαυτῷ κα-  
 κονούστατος ἦν, ὑμῶν οὕτως ἐπιμελουμένων ἐκ τούτου  
 τὴν μορίαν ἀφανίζειν ἐπεχείρησα τοῦ χωρίου, ἐν ᾧ δέν-  
 δρον μὲν οὐδὲ ἓν ἐστὶ, μιᾶς δὲ ἐλαίας σηκός, ὥς οὗτός  
 φησιν εἶναι, κυκλόθεν δὲ ὁδὸς περιέχει, ἀμφοτέρωθεν δὲ  
 γείτονες περιοικοῦσιν, ἄερκτον δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν κά-  
 τοπτὸν ἐστίν; ὥστε τίς ἂν ἀπετόλμησε, τούτων οὕτως  
 ἐχόντων, ἐπιχειρῆσαι τοιούτῳ πράγματι; Δεινὸν δέ μοι  
 δοκεῖ εἶναι ὑμᾶς μὲν, οἷς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἅπαντα  
 χρόνον προστέτακται τῶν μοριῶν ἐλαίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι,  
 μήθ' ὥς ἐπεργαζόμενον πῶποτε ζημιῶσαί με μήθ' ὥς  
 ἀφανίσαντα εἰς κίνδυνον καταστήσαι, τούτου δ', ὃς οὔτε  
 γεωργῶν ἐγγὺς τυγχάνει οὔτ' ἐπιμελητῆς ἤρημένος οὔθ'  
 ἡλικίαν ἔχων εἰδέναι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀπογράψαι με  
 μορίαν ἀφανίζειν.

Ἐγὼ τοίνυν δέομαι ὑμῶν μὴ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους  
 πιστοτέρους ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἔργων, μηδὲ περὶ ὧν αὐτοὶ  
 σύνιστε, ταῦτ' ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων,  
 ἐνθυμουμένους καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημέων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης  
 πολιτείας. ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ ἐμοὶ προστεταγμένα ἅπαντα  
 προθυμότερον πεποίηκα, ὥς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡναγκαζό-  
 μην, καὶ τριηραρχῶν καὶ εἰσφορᾶς εἰσφέρων καὶ χορηγῶν  
 καὶ τὰλλα λειτουργῶν οὐδενὸς ἥττον πολυτελῶς τῶν  
 πολιτῶν. καίτοι ταῦτα μὲν μετρίως ποιῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ  
 προθύμως οὔτ' ἂν περὶ φυγῆς οὔτ' ἂν περὶ τῆς ἄλλης οὐ-  
 σίας ἡγωνιζόμεν, πλείω δ' ἂν ἐκεκτήμεν, οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν  
 οὐδ' ἐπικίνδυνον ἑμαυτῷ καταστήσας τὸν βίον. ταῦτα  
 δὲ πράξας, ἃ οὗτός μου κατηγορεῖ, ἐκέρδαινον μὲν οὐδέν,

33 ἑμαυτὸν δ' εἰς κίνδυνον καθίστην. καίτοι πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιτε δικαιοτέρον εἶναι τοῖς μεγάλοις χρῆσθαι τεκμηρίοις περὶ τῶν μεγάλων, καὶ πιστότερα ἡγεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἅπαντα ἡ πόλις μαρτυρεῖ, μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ ὧν μόνος οὗτος κατηγορεῖ.

34 Ἔτι τοίνυν, ὦ βουλή, ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων σκέψασθε. μάρτυρας γὰρ ἔχων αὐτῷ προσήλθον, λέγων ὅτι μοι πάντες εἰσὶν οἱ θεράποντες, οὓς ἐκεκτῆμην, ἐπειδὴ παρέλαβον τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἔτοιμός εἰμι, εἴ τινα βούλοιτο, παραδούναι βασανίζειν, ἡγούμενος οὕτως ἂν τὸν ἑλεγχον ἰσχυρότερον γενέσθαι τῶν τούτου λόγων καὶ τῶν ἔργων

35 τῶν ἐμῶν. οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἤθελεν, οὐδὲν φάσκων πιστὸν εἶναι τοῖς θεράπουσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ περὶ αὐτῶν μὲν οἱ βασανιζόμενοι ἀτήγοροῦσιν, εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι ἀποθανοῦνται, περὶ δὲ τῶν δεσποτῶν, οἷς πεφύκασι κακονούστατοι, μᾶλλον ἂν εἵλοντο ἀνέχεσθαι βασανιζόμενοι ἢ κατειπόντες ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν.

36 καὶ μὲν δὴ, ὦ βουλή, φανερόν οἶμαι εἶναι ὅτι, εἰ Νικομάχου ἐξαιτούντος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μὴ παρεδίδουν, ἐδόκουν ἂν ἑμαυτῷ συνειδέναι· ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐμοῦ παραδιδόντος οὗτος παραλαβεῖν οὐκ ἤθελε, δίκαιον καὶ περὶ τούτου τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην σχεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου οὐκ ἴσου ἀμφοτέροις ὄντος. περὶ ἐμοῦ μὲν γὰρ εἰ ἔλεγον, ἂ οὗτος ἐβούλετο, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπολογήσασθαι μοι ἐξεγένετο· τούτῳ δ' εἰ μὴ ὁμολόγουν, οὐδεμίᾳ ζημίας ἔνοχος ἦν. ὥστε πολὺ μᾶλλον τούτον παραλαμβάνειν ἐχρῆν ἢ ἐμὲ παραδούναι προσήκεν. ἐγὼ τοίνυν εἰς τούτο προθυμίας ἀφικόμην, ἡγούμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶναι

καὶ ἐκ βασάνων καὶ ἐκ μαρτύρων καὶ ἐκ τεκμηρίων ὑμᾶς  
περὶ τοῦ πράγματος τἀληθῆ πυθέσθαι. ἐνθυμείσθαι δὲ 38  
χρῆ, ὃ βουλή, ποτέροις χρῆ πιστεύειν μᾶλλον, οἷς πολ-  
λοὶ μεμαρτυρήκασιν ἢ ὧς μηδεὶς τετόλμηκε, καὶ πότερον  
εἰκὸς μᾶλλον τοῦτον ἀκινδύνως ψεύδεσθαι ἢ μετὰ το-  
σούτου κινδύνου τοιούτου ἐμὲ ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ  
πότερον οἴεσθε αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως βοηθεῖν ἢ συκο-  
φαντοῦντα αἰτιύσασθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν [ἐγνωκέναι] ὑμᾶς 39  
ἡγούμαι ὅτι Νικόμαχος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεισθεὶς τῶν  
ἐμῶν τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνίζεται, οὐχ ὡς ἀδικοῦντα  
ἐλπίζων ἀποδείξειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀργύριον παρ' ἐμοῦ λήψε-  
σθαι προσδοκῶν. ὅσῳ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοὶ εἰσιν ἐπαιτιώτα-  
τοι καὶ ἀπορώτατοι τῶν κινδύνων, τούτῳ πάντες αὐτοὺς  
φεύγουσι μάλιστα. ἐγὼ δέ, ὃ βουλή, οὐκ ἠξίου, ἀλλ' 40  
ἐπειδήπερ με ἡτιάσατο, παρέσχον ἑμαυτὸν ὃ τι βού-  
λεσθε χρῆσθαι, καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα τοῦ κινδύνου οὐδενὶ  
ἐγὼ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διηλλάγην, οἱ ἐμὲ ἥδιον κακῶς λέγου-  
σιν ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινοῦσι, καὶ φανερώς μὲν οὐδεὶς  
πώποτε ἐμὲ αὐτῶν ἐπεχείρησε ποιῆσαι κακὸν οὐδέν, τοι-  
οῦτους δὲ ἐπιπέμπουσί μοι, οἷς ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως  
πιστεύετε. πάντων γὰρ ἂν ἀθλιώτατος γενοίμην, εἰ 41  
φυγαῖς ἀδίκως καταστήσομαι, ἅπαις μὲν ὢν καὶ μόνος,  
ἐρήμου δὲ τοῦ οἴκου γενομένου, μητρὸς δὲ πάντων ἐν-  
δεοῦς, πατρίδος δὲ τοιαύτης ἐπ' αἰσχίσταις στερηθεὶς  
αἰτίαις, πολλὰς μὲν ναυμαχίας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς νεναυμαχη-  
κώς, πολλὰς δὲ μάχας μεμαχημένος, κόσμιον δ' ἑμαυτὸν  
καὶ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ἐν ὀλυγαρχίᾳ παρασχών.

Ἄλλὰ γάρ, ὃ βουλή, ταῦτα μὲν ἐνθάδε οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ 42

τι δεῖ λέγειν· ἀπέδειξα δ' ὑμῖν ὡς οὐκ ἐνῆν σῆκος ἐν τῷ  
χωρίῳ, καὶ μάρτυρας παρεσχόμεν καὶ τεκμήρια. ἃ χρὴ  
μεμνημένους διαγιγνώσκειν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ  
ἀξιούν παρὰ τούτου πυθέσθαι ὅτου ἔνεκα, ἐξὸν ἐπ' αὐ-  
τοφώρῳ ἐλέγξει, τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ ὕστερον εἰς τοσοῦτόν  
43 με κατέστησεν ἀγῶνα, καὶ μάρτυρα οὐδένα παρασχόμε-  
νος ἐκ τῶν λόγων ζητεῖ πιστὸς γενέσθαι, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς  
τοῖς ἔργοις ἀδικοῦντα ἀποδείξαι, καὶ ἐμοῦ ἅπαντας δι-  
δόντος τοὺς θεράποντας, οὓς φησι παραγενέσθαι, παρα-  
λαβεῖν οὐκ ἤθελεν.

## BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

NOTE. — This general Introduction, and those which are specially connected with the several Orations, although freely combining material from various sources, are indebted especially to the admirable *Einleitungen* of DR. R. RAUCHENSTEIN, in his *Sechste Verbesseerte Auflage*.

**LYSLIAS** was born at Athens, most probably, according to K. F. Hermann's view, B. C. 444, or eight years before Isocrates, who by all accounts is represented as somewhat his junior. There he received his education together with the noblest of the Athenians, and there also he died, B. C. 378. Compare Cicero's remark, "Est enim Atticus, quoniam certe Athenis est et natus et mortuus et functus omni civium munere." (*Brut.* 16, 63.) His father was Cephalus of Syracuse, who, through Pericles's advice, had emigrated to Athens, about 447. Curtius says of Cephalus, that he was "a man of property and consideration, whose ancestors had distinguished themselves in the struggle against the tyrants of his native city, and in whose house a higher class of studies were eagerly cultivated. For thirty years he dwelt in the Piræus, and both in his manhood and old age was the type of piety and wisdom. He was devoted with his whole heart to the Periclean state to which he belonged as a resident alien, so that he accounted it an honor to undertake costly service in its behalf; and his hospitable house was a meeting-place of men of the most distinguished intellectual gifts." — *Hist. Greece*, II. p. 547. Such were the influences amidst which Lysias grew to manhood.

After the death of his father, he was attracted, with his brothers Polemarchus and Euthydemus, to Thurii in Lower Italy, about 417. Here, in the vicinity of the ancient and ruined Sybaris, a flourishing city had sprung up, laid out after the model of the

Piræus, and by the same Hippodamus whom Pericles had employed to lay out and beautify the port of Athens. Here, under a democratical constitution, such was the growth of the colony that many distinguished men were attracted from all quarters.

Here Lysias came under the influence of the Sicilian school of oratory, as led by Tisias of Syracuse. The style of this school was characterized by sharp antitheses, by elaborate parallelisms in the construction of sentences, by alliterations, and similar artificialities. In this style Lysias produced some compositions. But the mannerism of such a style, although well enough adapted to excite admiration in exhibitions of rhetorical skill, was less fitted for effective service in the encounters of the courts and the popular assemblies. Yet the straightforward practical address necessary for a statesman and an advocate can occasionally make profitable use of the ornaments of speech on which the rhetorician places more reliance; and so far Lysias's training in the Sicilian school brought some advantage to his later practice at Athens.

Lysias lived in prosperity at Thurii until the overthrow of the Athenian armament in Sicily, in 413. This occasioned the overthrow of the democratic constitution of Thurii, and the expulsion of the Athenian party, including Lysias and his brother Polemarchus, with whom three hundred others were obliged to flee.

The two brothers returned to Athens in 412 or 411, and during the next seven years resided in Piræus enjoying a period of prosperity. Though not possessing the rights of citizenship, they possessed the *isotely* (see *General Note* to the Oration against Eratosthenes, 9, *Metæcus*), and the business which they pursued was likely to be profitable in that time of war, — the manufacture of shields, in which they employed one hundred and twenty slaves. The capture of the city early in 404, and the inauguration of the despotism of the Thirty, found them the holders of a considerable property, of which they were despoiled by the tyrants, and Polemarchus was put to death, while Lysias made his escape to Megara. Having co-operated with liberal contributions and effective service

to the expulsion of the usurpers, Lysias had no sooner seen the ancient constitution restored, than he proceeded to prosecute Eratosthenes for his brother's murder.

Whether he gained this case or not, — on which point we have no testimony, — the undertaking proved eventful to Lysias as the beginning of a new career. To this, not improbably, his now reduced circumstances, together with his previous studies, may have inclined him. He now became a *λογογράφος*, or writer of speeches, which his clients in pleading their own causes delivered from memory (see *General Note* to the Oration against Eratosthenes, 4, *Synegorus*).

On the motion of Thrasybulus, a decree had been adopted conferring upon Lysias the privilege of citizenship, in recognition of his distinguished services to the state. But this decree having been cancelled for informality, in having been passed by the assembly without the previous assent of the senate (*προβούλευμα*), was never renewed. Having thus failed of obtaining that civic standing in which alone he could exercise his gifts as a popular speaker (*δηγῶν*) in the assembly, Lysias had no opportunity to attain the distinction in that capacity of which his plea against Eratosthenes had given promise. But his orations have, perhaps, thereby become none the less interesting to us, such is the greater variety of subject and manner which they present, corresponding to the variety of circumstances and persons for which they were prepared.

It was highly important that the persons who delivered from memory the orations which professional pens had written for them should seem to speak out of their own individuality. For, so far as their speeches should appear to bear the stamp of another mind, so far the impression upon their judges would be unfavorable. Accordingly, the speech-writer needed to study the persons for whom he wrote, as well as their causes, and to adapt each address to the characteristics as well as the circumstances of the speaker. This Lysias has done in such a way that, without introducing



unessential matter, or speaking otherwise than in the purest Attic, he has made each oration a "character-picture," a work of art expressing the personality of the speaker. Dionysius says of him in this respect: "He was by far the best of all orators in discerning the nature of men, and in attributing to each their appropriate feelings and manners and acts (7). . . . To each age, and kind, and education, and calling, and manner of living, and other things in which persons differ, he gives the natural expressions" (8). This was what the ancients praised in Lysias as the art of character-drawing (*ἡθροποιία*), and they highly esteemed him for expressiveness (*ἐνσπναια*), and fidelity to life (*δαρινωσις*).

The style of Lysias has been briefly described in the Preface to this volume. Dionysius calls him "an excellent standard of the Attic tongue, not of the old, which Plato and Thucydides have used, but of that which was current at that time" (9). The ancients regarded his style as a model of the *genus tenue*, *τοῦτον γένος*. The difficulty of describing this by any one or two English synonymes is apparent from the multitude of predicates by which Francken endeavors after an exhaustive translation, namely, "Tenuitati . . . propria est *gracilitas* et *siccitas*, i. e. ornatus defectus; simul *subtilitas* sive acuta demonstratio; denique *brevitas*. Tenuis orator parvus est verbis, et inornatus, sed idem sanus ac sobrius, subtilis, tersus, elegans, cavebit a jejunitate." — *Commentt. Lys.*, pp. 9, 10. Lysias gives everything its common and familiar name; he seldom uses a metaphor, even in passages of the highest eloquence. Demosthenes also, and other Attic orators, used figurative language sparingly, but this plain style was peculiarly adapted to the sphere for which Lysias designed his orations. Dionysius praises him for his faculty of "making things seem uncommon, and dignified, and great, while using the most common expressions, and abstaining from poetic devices" (3). His luminous preciseness, his naive truthfulness, his straightforward movement, deserve to be studied by every orator who aims at the orator's practical end of conviction and persuasion. As contrasted with

Demosthenes, he is thus characterized by Francken: "Flumine verborum abripit Demosthenes, 'monte decurrens velut amnis'; Lysias leniter allabitur, placidi et quieti rivuli instar, qui raro fluctus movet. Sanitatem et sobrietatem Atticam in utroque agnoscas, sed vehementior est Demosthenes, quietior Lysias." (*Ib.* p. 10.) Isocrates, on the other hand, writing comparatively few orations, and expending proportionately more time in perfecting them, — ten or fifteen years, it is said, upon his *Panegyricus*, — is much more elaborate than Lysias in the arrangement and treatment of his subjects, and, though harmonious in the flow of his sentences, sometimes wearisomely so in the monotonous finish of his elegant periods. But with regard to Lysias, furthermore, there is a peculiar charm (*χάρμη*) of elegant completeness and graceful finish investing his works. Dionysius calls it "the charm which blooms over the whole expression and arrangement, — a thing indescribable and most admirable. For it is most easy to see, and manifest to every one alike, both common man and artist, but most difficult to show in speech, and not readily achieved even by those best able to express themselves. This, indeed, I believe to be the best and most characteristic merit of the style of Lysias; whether one should call it a happy gift of nature, or the result of labor and art, or a habit or faculty combined of both, in which he excels all the rest of orators" (10).

As regards the details of oratory, the ancients regarded Lysias as unsurpassed in his *statement* of a case. In *argument* he is ingenious and acute. While he looks at his subject on all sides, he has a keen perception and vigorous grasp of the strong points of a case. His *thought* is never hampered by its *form*, but easily frees itself, by agreeable changes of construction, whenever the form is in danger of proving burdensome or obscure. More than any other Attic orator, Lysias uses the favorite *rhetorical ornaments* of that Sicilian school in which he had been trained (see *Notes*, §§ 1, 7, 37, 54, 78, *Or. against Eratosthenes*). Yet his use of them is never such as either to detract from the naturalness of his style,

or to interfere with the sober earnestness of his aim. In his *introductions*, Lysias shows the greatest variety. Each oration seems to open with the spontaneous thought of the moment. In his *conclusions* he is generally brief, and is fond of condensing in a terse statement the main points which he has presented.

In this connection the following remarks of Curtius upon Attic oratory, and that of Lysias in particular, deserve perusal : —

“The real oratory of the Athenians connected itself closely with the tasks of actual life, as they offered themselves in the law courts and in the popular assembly. Here it could take for its model neither the pomp of the style of Gorgias, nor the artistically constructed periods of Isocrates; for the ample and self-satisfied manner of the artistic orators was not in its proper place when the point at issue was to treat a given case according to the facts at issue, and, in the short time allowed, concisely to combine that which was adapted for determining the decision of the civic assembly, or of the jury. . . . But this Attic oratory reached its fullest development, and the most abundant evidence of it remains, in the works of Lysias, who is likewise by the experiences of his life so intimately associated with the internal and external history of Athens. . . . He now applied himself entirely to forensic oratory, which at Athens came more and more into the foreground, and which was also the principal subject treated in the books of instruction. Under the salutary discipline of a practical profession, Lysias put aside whatever had formerly clung to him of artificiality and sophistic mannerism; he emancipated himself from all useless ornament, and wrote his speeches in so straightforward and simple a style, that they became perfect models of the natural grace of Attic prose. He moreover possessed a peculiar gift, which very probably was due to his Sicilian blood, namely, the power of seizing with admirable force the characteristic points, according to age and social class, in the particular personages whose suits he conducted, and of thus making his speeches dramatic sketches of actual life.” — *Hist. Greece*, V. pp. 180, 181.

That the writings of Lysias were highly esteemed in antiquity, is evident from the number of commentators upon them, whose works, however, have not survived together with their names. The most valuable critique of him that we have from any ancient writer, is that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (who died soon after B. C. 7), of whom Francken says, that whoever attempts to praise Lysias, after Dionysius, will probably seem to be writing the Iliad after Homer.



# NOTES.



## THE DEFENCE OF MANTITHEUS.

### XVI.

#### INTRODUCTION.

N. B. — In the following pages the orations are severally referred to by the numerals prefixed to each, which are the same that designate them in the complete series.

THE date of this oration is determined by the references in § 15, as shortly subsequent to the battle at Coronea. Accordingly the oration must have been delivered some ten years after the time of the Thirty Tyrants. Mantitheus had obtained an election to the Senate. But, so strong was the hatred still cherished toward the Thirty and their adherents, that in the constitutional scrutiny (*δοκιμασία*) of the senators elect, — which took place before the out-going Senate, — the objection was raised against Mantitheus that he had served among the cavalry during the year of anarchy, as the Athenians termed that period of unconstitutional government.

It had been decreed, after the restoration of the democracy, that those cavalry-men who had served in the time of the Thirty should refund the *κατάστασις*, that is, the allowance granted them by the state for their outfit. It is likely that the tyrants, anxious to recruit the ranks of a force on which they depended, had perverted this allowance to cavalry-men, customary as it had been before they came into power, into a mere bounty for partisans, and that the resources for it came from unrighteous confiscations. The decree of reclamation was doubtless a stroke of censure at the cavalry, who had incurred the hatred of the people by the devotion which they had shown to the cause of the tyrants. Grote remarks, that the horsemen, as a class, had steadfastly supported the Thirty through all the enormities of their

career, and had made themselves their partisans in every species of flagitious crime which could possibly be imagined to exasperate the feelings of the exiles. (*Hist.*, VIII. pp. 246, 302.)

This reclamation of the *κατόστασις* naturally produced some law-suits, which were tried before judge-advocates (*σύνδικοι*), who had been appointed to take cognizance of the claims for indemnification, that arose after the return of the exiled democrats, whose property had been confiscated by the oligarcha. The lists of the cavalry-men were, of course, in evidence. These lists were on tablets covered with gypsum (*σάπιδες*). These lists, as might have been expected, had been more or less corrupted, names erased and names inserted. The results of the legal proceedings were probably various. But a connection with the cavalry service, whether positively ascertained or not, made in many cases little difference. (See § 8.) Grote remarks, "the general body of the knights suffered so little disadvantage from the recollection of the Thirty, that many of them in after days became senators, generals, hipparchs, and occupants of other considerable posts in the state." — *Hist.*, VIII. p. 306. Sometimes, however, they were more severely treated (*Or.* XXVI. § 10).

Mantitheus, with his somewhat careless demeanor, may have given occasion for the complaint. He makes, however, a seemingly unimpeachable defence with a skilful use of facts, and with a free and unreserved exhibition of his life and his personal character. He appears as an Athenian from a good family of the old stamp, hostile to the dissolute life of elegant men of his age, not very careful in his external appearance, and rather disposed to brave criticism. He is active, devoted, resolute, and brave, in a somewhat rough and impetuous way, but takes pains, by uprightness and solid merit, to secure the approbation of his fellow-citizens. Such a character captivates us by its probity and openness, and in its clear delineation Lysias has furnished an excellent proof of his skill.

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#### GENERAL NOTE ON POINTS OF THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION TOUCHED IN THIS ORATION.

[For fuller statements see especially Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.]

1. THE *civil* and the *military constitution* of the Athenians ran parallel. The nation, since the democratical reorganization by Clia-

thenes, B. C. 509, had been divided into ten *tribes* (*φυλαί*.) These possessed each its leading officers, its common sanctuaries, and its tribal festivals, but, as corporations, they had no political significance, and served merely as organs for the performance of civil and military services. (Curtius, *Hist.*, I. pp. 407, 408.)

The phyle, says Grote, seems to have been "the only military classification known at Athens." The soldiers of each phyle formed a division of the army (§ 15) called a *τάξις*, subdivided into *λόχοι*, under *λοχαγοί*. The *τάξις* of the Athenians was thus a larger body than among other Greeks. Each *τάξις* was under a *ταξιάρχος*. The ten *taxiarchs*, who acted as lieutenants and assistants of the ten *strategi*, both in peace and in war, commanded only the infantry of the ten phylæ. The cavalry commander in each phyle was called *φύλαρχος* (§ 6), and the ten *phylarchs* were themselves subordinate to two *hipparchs* (*ἵππαρχοι*, § 8). The chief military officer was the *strategus* (*στρατηγός*, § 8). Of these there were also ten, one for each phyle. They were elected by popular suffrage, and presided over all matters belonging to the war and the foreign department. They also nominated and exercised control over the trierarchs, or naval captains, and, in general, were charged with superintendence of the public safety. They had the power, in an emergency, of convoking, with consent of the senate, an extraordinary assembly of the people; and even of prohibiting or dissolving the assembly, if so the necessities of the state seemed to require.

2. *Phylæ and Demes*. The phylæ possessed no local centres of their own, but were simply aggregations of *demes*. These *demes* (*δήμοι*) were local parishes, and *demes* which might be remote from each other were often included in the same phyle. In each phyle there were originally ten *demes*, but the number gradually increased. The common local centre of the phylæ was the city agora, where the statues of the ten tribal heroes stood, but that of each deme was its own agora. The land-holders in each deme were catalogued, and "registration in these parish lists served as evidence that an individual belonged to the country in general, and was entitled to the enjoyment of civic rights. Though he might change his habitation as often as he liked, he still continued to belong to the deme in which he had once been registered." — Curtius, *Hist.*, I. p. 407.

Like our towns, the *demes* had their local governments, treasuries, and meetings, and raised their quotas for the army and navy. The



demes were sometimes of large extent and populous. The deme of Acharnæ supplied a force of three thousand men in the Peloponnesian War. The members of a deme were called *demotæ* (δημόται, § 14), and the head man of each deme was styled *demarch* (δήμαρχος).

3. The *Senate* (βουλή) had been composed, since the time of Clis-thenes, if we except the revolutionary period about the close of the Peloponnesian War, of five hundred citizens, not under thirty years of age, who were chosen by lot (κύαμος), and held office for a year, meeting daily, except on festivals and holidays, and receiving the compensation of a drachm (about eighteen cents) per day. Every senator elect had to undergo the scrutiny (δοκιμασία) (see *General Note*, 5), in which evidence must be presented of citizenship, age, and freedom from ἀτιμία. (See *General Note*, XXV. 3.) The functions of the senate were to originate business for the general assembly, to take care for the navy and arsenals, to regulate all matters of finance, to judge of the qualifications of magistrates, and of the members of their own body; and also to receive, and sometimes to try, informations (εἰσαγγελίαι). (See *General Note*, 7.) The judicial power of the senate was limited from B. C. 461 to the imposition of a fine of five hundred drachms — about \$90.45. Each phyle was represented by fifty senators, and each fifty took the lead of affairs a tenth part of the year, by lot, under the name of prytanes (πρυτάνεις). One of these was drawn each day to preside as Epistates (ἐπιστάτης) in the senate and the assembly, and to hold the public seal and keys. After 370 B. C., the Epistates chose nine proedri (πρόεδροι), one from each phyle but his own, and one of these presided in the senate and the assembly, while the other Epistates, as chairman of the prytanes, held the keys and seal.

4. The *assembly* (ἐκκλησία) embraced all the qualified freemen of Attica. A man could be qualified for membership at the age of twenty. The meetings, held regularly four times in each prytany, or forty times a year, assembled in the *Pnyx*, a semicircular area on a low hill southwest of the Areopagus. All matters of public and national interest, foreign or domestic, might become subjects for discussion. It was not according to law to bring forward any particular measure that had not previously received the sanction of the senate by a *προβούλευμα*, or been referred by that body to the assembly. Privilege of speech was not confined to any class or age. Speakers addressed the meeting from a high platform of stone (βῆμα, still exist-

ing). The sense of the meeting was expressed by a show of hands (*χειρονομία*) or by ballot (*ψήφος*). The attendance on ordinary assembly days probably numbered about five thousand.

As in addition to the forty regular meetings of every year there were many special meetings, the poorer classes would either be burdened by attendance, or must resign the control of affairs to persons of wealth and leisure. There was some justice, therefore, in the arrangement which secured the attendance of the poorer citizens by allowing a compensation of, at first, one obol (three cents) a day, which was increased afterward (B. C. 392) to three obols.

5. The *Δοκιμασία*. Before any person who had been designated or elected to an office was permitted to enter on its duties, he was obliged to pass an examination into his previous life and conduct. This scrutiny of qualifications was called the *dokimasy* (*δοκιμασία*). It did not take account so much of the actual capacities and personal qualities of the persons elected, as of matters like the following: Whether the individual were a genuinely born Athenian citizen and of proper age; whether he had discharged his filial obligations to his parents, and had done his duty as a citizen in war; whether he had borne his part in the customary sacrifices, and had discharged his debts to the state; and whether he had engaged in any transactions prejudicial to the state, or such as should incapacitate him for civic functions. The *dokimasy* was held sometimes before the senate, sometimes before the jury-courts of the *dicasts*. (See *General Note*, XII. 3.) It was in order at such times for any person to object to the fitness of the candidate under scrutiny. So wide-reaching an examination of a man's whole record, public and private, gave wide opportunity to objectors, and permitted, as we see in the following oration, an equal discursiveness in reply (§ 9). This institution was sometimes perverted to the gratification of private grudges, but was also turned to account against some unworthy persons who could not be successfully prosecuted under the laws.

6. A *Syndicus* (*σύνδικος*) is sometimes synonymous with a *Synegorus* (see *General Note* to the next oration), and sometimes, as in this oration, denotes an advocate of a peculiar kind, possessing some judicial powers. The duty of this class of *σύνδικοι* seems to have been to exercise jurisdiction in disputes respecting property claimed both by the state and by private parties, especially confiscated property. The first appointment of such functionaries took place on the restoration

of the constitution after the overthrow of the Lysandrian tyranny, B. C. 403. The name of *σύνδικος* was also specially given to orators sent to represent the state before a foreign tribunal.

7. *Dike*. The general word denoting any proceeding at law between parties was *δίκη*. This had a wider and a limited sense. In the wider sense, *δίκη* included both public and private actions; in the more limited sense it meant a private suit, while *γραφή* was the word specially appropriated to public actions (see *General Note*, VII. 1); and these again were divided into *ἴδιαι*, or criminal prosecutions, and *δημόσιαι*, or state trials. The different classes of trials were also included under the general name of *ἀγῶνες*. *Εἰσαγγελία* signified an information laid before the senate or the assembly, especially in cases not covered by the laws, or in case of eminent persons, or heinous offences, or when a combination of crimes was charged, or when speedy trial was necessary.

8. *Martyria*. In the courts of Athens only freemen possessing their civil rights could be witnesses (*μάρτυρες*). Of the testifying of women or minors there is no instance on record. Slaves could testify only under torture (see *General Note*, VII. 2). But alien freemen could testify like citizens. Neither of the parties to a suit was a competent witness in his own case, though each was obliged to answer questions put by the other (see *Or.*, XII. §§ 24, 25). A witness who refused to appear when summoned was liable to prosecution. He was not obliged to be present at the preliminary hearing (see *General Note*, VII. 1), but his deposition had to be handed in then in writing. When he was ill, or out of the country, he could be examined by commission, and his deposition was then called *ἐκμαρτυρία*. Hearsay evidence, except the declaration of a deceased person, was inadmissible. After the preliminary hearing, no fresh evidence could be introduced. When the trial took place the witness was obliged to be present in court. When he was introduced, the water-clock (*κλεψύδρα*), which measured the time allotted to the speakers, — in the midst of whose addresses the witnesses were brought forward at fitting points, — was stopped, the witness ascended the speaker's platform, and signified his assent to his written deposition as read to him by the clerk. Either at the preliminary hearing or at the trial, an oath was administered to the witness at the altar by the opposite party. A contumacious witness incurred a fine of 1,000 drachms. A false witness was indictable, with punishment, if convicted, at

the discretion of the court. In our editions of the orators, the words *μαρτυρία* and *μαρτυρες* are interchangeably used to denote the introduction of witnesses.

In connection with this subject, the original signification of the word *martyr* in the Christian sense will readily be appreciated.

## NOTES.

### XVI.

#### ANALYSIS.

PART I.—REPLY TO THE SPECIAL CHARGE, §§ 1-8.

" II.—EXHIBITION OF THE SPEAKER'S RECORD, §§ 9-21.

I.—1. Introduction: The accusers' malice gives the speaker a valuable opportunity to demonstrate his character, §§ 1, 2.

2. The proposition; stating in general what the speaker expects to prove, § 3.

3. The argument, §§ 4-8, namely:

A. An alibi: he was out of the country till the affairs of the Thirty had become critical, § 4; and at such a time it was not likely that he and they would have become connected, § 5.

B. Whatever a falsified register may show, § 6, his name does not appear as a cavalry-man either in the phylarchs' lists, or in the judicial reclamations, § 7.

C. Were it true that he had served in the cavalry, he could show that he had harmed no one, and could point to many such who had been honored with high office, § 8.

II.—1. Introductory: A personal narrative is required by the nature of the case, § 9.

2. The narration, §§ 10-16.

A. Of his conduct in domestic relations, § 10.

B. And also in social and public life, §§ 11-16.

a. Negatively.

α. as averse to dissolute habits, § 11.

β. and never charged with a breach of law, § 12.

b. Positively.

α. as a volunteer for dangerous service, § 13.

β. generous to poorer comrades, § 14.

c. steadfast in battle, § 15.

d. and of undaunted daring after defeat, § 16.

3. Argument on the facts presented, §§ 17-19.

A. Popular favor and political rights cannot justly be refused to a man with such a record, § 17.

B. The true criterion of an honorable and worthy citizen is such a record, § 18, rather than peculiarities of personal appearance and manner, § 19.

4. Conclusion, §§ 20, 21. (See Notes.)

1.—*συνήδαν*, *G.*, 49, 2. *H.*, 746.—*βουλομένοις*, *G.*, 113. *H.*, 799.—*κατηγορίας*, *G.*, 173. *H.*, 577.—*διαβεβλημένοις*, *G.*, 18, 4. Notice the emphasis given by position before the subject *τούτους*. *οἷνες*, the indefinite relative, gives a general signification to its antecedent *τούτους*, "this class of persons...who."—*ἀναγκάζουσιν*, *G.*, 62. *H.*, 757.—*αὐτοῖς*, *G.*, 188, 3. *H.* 600.

2.—*ᾧσ' ἄπειρα*, *G.*, 65, 3. *H.*, 770, 771.—*εἰ τις...τυγχάνει*, *G.*, 48, I. A. 1, & R. 1.—*δικαίμενος*, *G.*, 112, 2. *H.*, 801.—*ἐμοῦ*, *G.*, 171, N. 1. *H.*, 576, a.—*ἀκούσῃ*, *G.*, 20, N. 1; 60, 3, N.; 61, 3. *H.*, 760, a.—*μεταμелήσαν*, *G.*, 27, N. 3.

3.—*ἀποδείξω*, *G.*, 50, 1, & R. 1. Is the tense a future or an aorist subjunctive? See *G.*, 37, 2, N. 1. What is the apodosis?—*τῶν αὐτῶν κινδύνων μ. ἔμην*, *G.*, 170, 2, & 186. *H.*, 574, a, & 603.—*τὰ ἅλλα*, i. e. everything beside his just-mentioned attachment to the established constitution, and what he had endured in consequence.—*μετρίως*, a modest expression for "laudably."—*βεβιωκώς*, *G.*, 112, N. 8. *H.*, 797 & 802.—*δίδωμαι*, *G.*, 10, N. 7. So *δίδω*, above. *H.*, 699, a.—*δοκιμάζαν*, see *General Note*, 5, *Δοκιμασία*.—*οὐχ ἔππευον* [*οὐτ' ἐπεδήμουν*], the bracketed words seem to have got out of place from § 4. Discriminate between this imperfect and the aorist *μετέσχον*. *G.*, 200, N. 5. *G.*, 19, N. 2.—*μετέσχον*, why not accented *μέτεσχον*? *G.*, 26, N. 1. *H.*, 368, b. Free from all connection with the administration, he was impliedly free from all responsibility for its actions.

4.—*Ἡμᾶς*, emphatic position.—*συμφορᾶς*, at *Ægospotami*, on the European side of the Hellespont, opposite *Lampsacus*, where about one hundred and seventy vessels, nearly the whole of the Athenian fleet, were taken by *Lysander*, September, B. C. 405. This disaster was the finishing stroke of the Peloponnesian War.—*Σάτυρον* (I.), king of a district in the Tauric Chersonese (modern Crimea), whose capital was *Panticapæum*, also called *Bosporus*, from its situation on the west side of the Cimmerian *Bosporus* (Strait of *Yenikale*). The region had been colonized principally from *Miletus*, and maintained a flourishing trade with *Athens* in particular, which drew from it annually 400,000 *medimni* (600,000 bushels) of corn. Says *Curtius*: "Of all the existing foreign relations, those with the princes on the Cimmerian *Bosporus* were in truth the most favorable and the best warranted," etc. *Hist.* V. p. 137.—*διαιτησομένους*, *G.*, 109, 5. *H.*, 789, d.—*ἐξέπεμψε*, notice the force of the *ἐξ*, "out of the country."—*ταχόν*, the Long Walls and the fortifications of *Piræus*. See *Or.* XII. § 40, *Notes*.—*καθαρουμένων...μεθισταμένης*, *G.*, 16, 1.—*πολιτείας*, see *Or.* XII. §§ 73–76.—*πρὶν*, *G.*, 106, 2. *H.*, 769.—*φυλῆς*, the military operations which resulted in the expulsion of the Thirty commenced in the occupation of *Phyle* by a force under *Thrasybulus*. *Phyle*, 14 miles from *Athens*, is a

fortress on a precipitous rock, "*Phyle's brow*," commanding the pass of Mt. Parnes, on the road from Thebes to Athens. — *καταλθεῖν*, November, B. C. 404. — *ἡμερᾶς*, G., 188, 2. H., 610.

5. — *καίτοι*, a particle of very frequent occurrence in Lysias, compounded of *καί* and the enclitic *τοι*, which is an old dative form equivalent to *τῷ*, and meaning *therefore, certainly*. In composition it adds a strengthening force. The compound *καίτοι* signifies, (1) *and certainly*; (2) *and yet certainly*; *and yet*; (3) *although*. — *εἰκός ἦν...ἐπιθυμεῖν*, G., 49, 2, N. 3, (a). H., 703. — *ἔχοντες* has the force of an imperfect, as will appear if the personal construction be translated by the impersonal, "nor does it appear that they had," etc. See G., 16, 2. Sauppe prefers to read *σχωρτες*. But the reference to the past is clear enough in the present participle; and besides, the aorist has a special sense not pertinent here. See H., 708. — *μηδὲν ἔξαμαρτάνουσι, not τοῖς μ. ε.*; those who had committed no fault are not a distinct class from those who were out of the country (which the repetition of the article would intimate), but these latter just because of their absence were blameless. (Francken.) For the negative, G., 283, 4. H., 839. — *πολιτείας*, G., 170, 2. H., 574, a. — *ἡτίμαζον...δῆμον*. Perhaps such a case as that of Theramenes (see *Introd.* to the following oration) was in the speaker's mind. And yet the sense of the passage, as it stands, seems to take the edge off from Mantisheus's argument, that the tyrants trusted no one who had done nothing wrong. Francken favors Reiske's conjecture that, after *τὸν δῆμον, ἐτίμων* has dropped out. If so, the statement would agree with XXV. § 13: *τοὺς πλείους κατὰ ὑμᾶς ἐργασμένους εἰς τὰς τιμὰς καθίστασαν*.

6. — *σανιδίου*, see *Introduction*. — *ἰππεύειν*, i. e. *εἶναι ἵππευον*. G., 15, 3, & R. 1. — *ἐγγεγραμμένοι* (so Cobet), the proper term for the entering of names on a list, not *ἐπιγεγραμμένοι*. — *ἐκείνος*, H., 679, b, last part. — *ἐξηφίστασθε...ἀπενεγκέιν*, G., 92, 1, & R. 1. — *καταστάσεις*, see *Introd.* — *ἀναπράξετε*, G., 44, 2, & N. 1.

7. — *ἐμέ*, emphatic. — *ἀποδελξείν*, G., 50, 2, & 52, 2. — *συνδίκους*, see *Introd.* and *General Note*, 6. — *καταβαλόντα* (so Bake, Francken, Frohberger, and others, while Frei and Kayser regard the bracketed words as spurious); the refunding of the allowance would have been the decisive indication: *καταβαλόντα* seems preferable to the common reading *παραλαβόντα*, both for that reason, and for the sake of the climax in which the three participles then stand, *ἀπενεχθέντα...παραδοθέντα...καταλαβόντα*. — *τοῦτο*, H., 679, a. — *ἀναγκαῖον ἦν*, see *Note* on *εἰκός ἦν*, § 5, above. — *ἀποδελξείαν*, G., 54, 2, (b), and 50, 2, R. (a). — *ἐκείνοις τοῖς γράμμασιν*, i. e. the lists of the phylarchs. These, although just mentioned, are designated more distantly as *ἐκείνοις* in contrast with the *σανιδίου*, referred to by *τούτοις (γράμμασιν)*, as either produced in court, or made specially

prominent by the accuser. — τῇ βουλομένῃ, *G.*, 108, 2. The participle here involves the protasis, εἰ τις βούλοιτο, or ἐβούλετο, *G.*, 51, and Note 3.

8. — εἴπαρ ἰκπευσσά... οὐκ ἂν ἦν, *G.*, 49, 2, with *R.* (a.) & (b.) — ὥς... πεποιηκώς, *G.*, 113, N. 10. *H.*, 795, e. — ἤξιον, has an implied *ἂν*, derived from the preceding οὐκ ἂν ἦν. — ἀποδείξας, equivalent to εἰ ἀπέδειξα, *G.*, 52. — βουλευόντας, "members of the senate." — ὥστε... ἡγείσθαι, *G.*, 65, 3, Note. — μου, *G.*, 173, 2, N. *H.*, 583. — μαρτύρησον; the witness was probably to testify as to the time of the absence and return; see § 4. The *alibi* was thus far the main point in his defence. — ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ, see *General Note*, 8.

9. — οὐκ οἷδ' ὃ τι δὲ πλεῖον λέγων. Here begins the second and more discursive part of the oration. The case, so far as concerned the accusation now so thoroughly refuted, had been sufficiently argued. In an ordinary lawsuit, Mantitheus might well have rested here. But as wide range was allowed both to complaint and answer in the public scrutiny of the character of candidates for office (see *General Note*, 5, *Δοκιμασία*), he is not content to have proved a mere negative, but now goes on to show that his actual life and character had been that of a praiseworthy citizen, entitled to such political rights as that now called in question. — ἀπολογεσθαι, *G.*, 91. *H.*, 763. — ἀκροάσασθαι, *G.*, 23, 1, & *Rem.* — ποιήσομαι, *G.*, 199, 2. *H.*, 689. — διὰ βραχυτάτων, *H.*, 629, PHRASES.

10. — πρῶτον. The first point which Mantitheus makes is with reference to his domestic and private affairs, τὰ ἴδια, as distinct from τὰ κοινά, his social and public relations. — οὐσίας... καταλεφθείσης, *G.*, 277, 5. *H.*, 790, e. — συμφορὰς... τὰς τῆς πόλεως, in the course of the Peloponnesian War. — ἐπιδοῦς, sons inherited the whole patrimony, but with the obligation of supporting their sisters, and providing them suitable marriage portions. — τριάκοντα μνᾶς = half a talent: a mina was worth about \$18. — ὁμολογεῖν, acknowledged at that time and still acknowledges. *G.*, 15, 1, & *Rem.* — ἐμοῦ, *G.*, 175. *H.*, 585. — μηδεπόποτε... μηδέ... μηδέν, *G.*, 283, 8, last part. *H.*, 843.

11. — δῖψκηκα (so Sauppe and Frohberger), preferable to the common reading διψκησα, on account of the preceding perfect, βεβίωκα. — ἐπιεικείας, literally "moderation," unassumingly covers the claim to a virtuous and honorable life. — ποιούμενοι, *G.*, 199, 3. *H.*, 690. — τούτους, here not strictly necessary, but subjoined to πλείστα with significant emphasis, as if = "these are they who talk and lie about me most." — τῶν αὐτῶν, *G.*, 171, 2. *H.*, 576. — ἐπεθυμούμεν, "we" = they and I.

12. — ἀποδείξαι, distinguish from differently accented forms. *H.*, 367, *R.* e. — δίκην... γραφὴν... εἰσαγγέλλαν... ἀγῶνας, see *General Note*, 7. *δίκη* here denotes a private suit. This, however, would fall under the head of τὰ κοινά, his social and public relations. — σκέψασθε, *G.*, 22.

13. — *πρώτον*, subordinate to the *πρώτον* in § 10. See Analysis. — *ἐποιήσαυθε*, *G.*, 19, N. 4, b. H., 706. — [τοὺς], Rauchenstein brackets the article here, "because Lysias omits the article before gentile nouns." — *Βοιωτοῖς*. The so-called Corinthian War, which was carried on by sea and land for some seven years, was fomented by the Persian satrap Tithraustes for the purpose of relieving the Asiatic provinces from the presence of a Spartan army, and of transferring the scene of hostilities to Greece. The Thebans headed an anti-Spartan league, and occasioned the outbreak of the war, B. C. 395. The resolution of Athens to send military aid to Thebes was her first emergence from the political eclipse which she had suffered at the close of the Peloponnesian War, and at the time when this force was sent, the city was still without fortifications and without ships. — *εἰς Ἀλίαρτον*, a city of Boeotia. Lysander, the conqueror of Athens, had been routed and slain before Haliartus prior to the arrival of the Athenian force. — *Ὀρβοβοῦλον*, probably the phylarch of Mantitheus's tribe. — *εἶναι*, *G.*, 15, 2, N. 2. The Spartans were generally weak in the cavalry and strong in the infantry. Rauchenstein, after admitting the bracketed *δεῖν*, remarks that it is better, with Francken and Cobet, to drop it, and instead, with Frohberger, to put *ἀν.* — *ἀναβάντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους*, "entered the cavalry service." — *ἀδοκιμάστων*, in violation of the rule which required that, before entering the service, both men and horses should undergo an examination satisfactory to the hipparchs. — *ἐξαλείψαι*, *G.*, 23, 2, N. 4. — *μέλλοντος*, *G.*, 25, 2. H., 711. — *παρασκευάσαντι*, *G.*, 138, N. 8. H., 776, fine print. See *ἐξάρους*, XII. § 31 and *Note*.

14. *τῶν δημοτῶν*, the members of a deme served together. — *δι' αὐτῶν*, *G.*, 70, 2, R. 1. H., 734, a, 735. — *τοὺς ἔχοντας*, *G.*, 276, 2. — *συνεβούλευον...ἔδωκα*, *G.*, 19, N. 2. — *αὐτός*, *G.*, 79, N. 1. H., 669, b. — *κεκτημένος*, *G.*, 200, N. 6. H., 712. — *γίνεται*, like *ἀναπράγξει*, § 6, *G.*, 44, 2, & N. 1.

15. — *εἰς Κόρινθον*, the Athenians sent some six thousand hoplites, about one fourth part of the heavy-armed force which the allies sent into the field against Sparta, with about six hundred cavalry. Thrasybulus commanded. — *δήσει*, the past thought quoted in the direct form, *G.*, 77. What would the indirect form be? — *τῆς πρώτης*, supply *τάξεως*, which Cobet inserts in the text. The genitive may be construed with some such word as *ὁπλίτης* understood; *G.*, 169, 2, N. H., 572. — *δυστυχισάσης*, in the battle of Nemea in the Corinthian territory about midsummer, 394. The Athenians were outflanked and severely handled. See *Grote*, IX. pp. 306–308. *Cur-tius*, IV. 249. — *τοῦ σερμοῦ Στριάως*, "the grand Strian," ironically. Thrasybulus was of the deme Stria, in the phyle Pandionis. This reference shows the oration to have been delivered while the events were recent, and before the death of Thrasybulus, who was slain near Aspendus, in Pamphylia, in 390.



16. — χωρίων ἰσχυρῶν. The passes of the Isthmus remained as before, in the control of the forces of the League. Moreover, the camp to which many of the defeated allies retired was so strongly secured by the nature of the ground (καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρίον, Xen. *Hell.* IV. 2, 19), that the victors did not attack. — μὴ δύνασθαι, G., 283, 3. H., 837. — Ἀγχιλαδού, the second monarch of that name, "the ablest and most energetic of the Spartan kings" (*Grote*, X. 363, sq.), having been recalled from a career of victory in Asia to succor the Spartan interests in Greece, defeated the allied forces at Coronae in Boeotia, a few weeks after the battle of Nemea. — ἑμβαλόντες stands in the causal relation to ψηφισαμένων. — τῶν ἀρχόντων; these were the *strategi*. See *General Note*, 1. — ἀποχωρίσαι, "to detach." — βοηθήσουσι, G., 74, 1, p. 162. See Note on δεήσει, § 15, above. — δεινόν, a touch of grim humor. — ἀγαπητῶς, "barely," a meaning derived from the more radical signification "contentedly," through the intermediate idea of what will no more than content. — ἀκληροῦς, such a matter was regularly determined by the lot. — τάξιν, here evidently in the sense of φυλήν, while, as supplied with τῆς πρώτης, § 15, above, it denotes, more restrictedly, a single rank in order of battle.

17. — τοῖς...ἀξιοῦσι, G., 184, 2. H., 595, b, last part. The constitutional scrutiny would prevent such cowards from holding office. — ἔχουσιν. G., 54, 1, (a). — ἐποιοῦν...ἐτόλμων...ἐποιοῦν, mark the proper force of the imperfects, as distinguished from aorists. — οὐχ ὥς σέ, G., 283, 8. H., 844. — ἴνα, εἰ ποτε, the speaker states his past intention in the form of quotation. G., 74, 1. In the direct form, καθισταίμην would have been in the subjunctive, or the future indicative (G., 50, 1, & N. 1), and τυγχάνοιμι in the subjunctive after ἴνα (G., 44), depending on the leading verb ποιήσω, or ποιῶ, here ἐποιοῦν. For another instance of this unconcealed avowal of an interested motive, see XXV. § 13. — τὰς ἐξόδους, the article is here restrictive = "those in which I took part," G., 141, N. 2. H., 527, d. — ποιούμενος, G., 112, 2. — κομᾶ, Hamaker's widely approved emendation of the common reading τολμᾶ. With many imitators of the Spartan fashion (*Δακνωσταί*, as they were called), Mantitheus let his hair and beard grow long. This would be taken by some to indicate his political sympathy with the foes from whom Athens had suffered most. Supply χρή before μουεῖν. — For the rhyme-like ending of the two clauses, σκοπεῖν...μουεῖν, see XII. § 1, note on ἀπειπεῖν. — ἐκ...ἐμβαλόντων: ὠφελεῖσθαι ἐκ is more commonly said with reference to things, ὑπό with reference to persons.

19. — μικρὸν διαλεγόμενοι, G., 109, 2. H., 789, b. Those who used a moderate tone and utterance would naturally be more persuasive with many than loud and fast talkers. — πολλὰ κάγαθὰ ἑμάς, G., 165. H., 555, 547, c.

20. — The conclusion of the oration, so far as its form goes, is quite peculiar. Mantitheus takes occasion, from a minor objection that had been

made to him, to conciliate the favor of his hearers by a frank and manly confession, § 20, while he puts his justification into the form, at the end, of a brief but graceful compliment to the tribunal, § 21. — *ἡσθόμεν*, *G.*, 19, N. 4 (a). — *διὰ ταῦτα*, *H.*, 679, a; compare *διὰ τοῦτο μισεῖν*, § 18, above. — *ὅτι νεώτερος ὢν ἐπεχείρησα*, *G.*, 81, 1. It was the rule in Solon's time that persons of fifty years and upwards should have precedence in addressing the assembly, but this had become obsolete. Would the imperfect, *ἐπεχείρουν*, have presented the thought any differently from the aorist? — *τῶν ἑμαντοῦ πραγμάτων*, *H.*, 538, fine print. — *δοκῶ... διατεθῆναι*, *G.*, 92, 2, N. 2. *H.*, 777. — *προγόνων ἐνθυμούμενος*; instead of the simple genitive (*H.*, 576), the genitive with *περὶ* may be used. Compare *ἐνθυμουμένους ἐκ*, and *Note*, VII. § 30. The participle denotes cause. *G.*, 109, 4. *H.*, 789, c.

21. — *ἀληθῆ χρη λέγειν*, apologetically, since he intimates that they, if any, are to blame. — *τοιούτους*, "such" as those who undertake to address the assembly of the people. — *ἀξιους*, supply *τιμῆς*. Cobet reads *πολλοῦ ἀξιους*. — *ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς*, *G.*, 52, 1. — *τί... ἄχθοισθε*, the protasis is thrown into the form of the subsequent declarative sentence. Stated in the regular conditional form, the thought would have been expressed thus: "And besides, if you more than others have to decide whether such persons are worthy or not, why should you be displeased with them" [for endeavoring to gain your favor]!

The abrupt conclusion is both pointed, and characteristic of the self-reliant temper of the speaker.

## THE ORATION AGAINST ERATOSTHENES.

## XII.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE triumph of Sparta and her allies in the Peloponnesian War was an overthrow, throughout Greece, not only of the Athenian power, but of the democratical principles for which that power stood. The loss of the Athenian fleet at Ægospotami took place in September, B. C. 405. About November, the victorious fleet commenced the blockade of Piræus, while the Peloponnesian army encamped at the gates of Athens. In April, the entry of Lysander into the city at once terminated the famine-agonies of the siege, and introduced the miseries of the year of misrule, — “the anarchy” (*ἀναρχία*) as it was ever afterwards called by the Athenians, as the period during which the constitutional government was suspended. The dark picture which is presented in this oration is the more impressive, because it is but a specimen of a widespread condition of things at that time. Says Mr. Grote : “Lysander, in all the overweening insolence of victory, while rewarding his devoted partisans with an exaltation comprising every sort of license and tyranny, stained the dependent cities with countless murders, perpetrated on private as well as public grounds.” — Vol. IX. p. 188. And again : “We shall be warranted in affirming, that the first years of the Spartan empire, which followed upon the victory of Ægospotami, were years of all-pervading tyranny, and multifarious intestine calamity, such as Greece had never before endured.” — *Ib.*, p. 191.

Immediately after the capture of the fleet, the oligarchical party commenced organization by appointing a managing committee of five, subserviently called by the Spartan name of Ephors, § 43. After the surrender of the city, the next step was the accusation and imprisonment of the leaders of the democratical party, some account of which is given by Lysias in his Oration against Agoratus (XIII.), who acted as the tool of the oligarchs. Then, under the protection of Lysander's presence, who came from Samos for the purpose, § 71, the revolution was consummated in a popular assembly, by means of the menaces

narrated in § 74. The Thirty being thus clothed with power, about June, 404, Lysander returned to finish the siege of Samos, but a Spartan garrison at the service of the tyrants was sent to keep the Acropolis, § 94, under Callibius, — a man whom even Lysander censured for his insolence to the conquered, — besides which the Thirty maintained their own band of ruffians ready to execute without flinching the most flagitious commands.

Under the democratical constitution the accused had been entitled to trial either by the numerous jury-court called the dicastery, or by the senate, or by the assembly of the people. But by the Thirty many were put to death without trial, §§ 17, 82, while of those who were tried before the senate, newly composed as it now was of the appointees of the Thirty, the fate was generally secured beforehand, though sometimes not without the intimidating even of such a body. In the great number of cases brought before this tribunal, the only acquittal pronounced was in the case of the informer Agoratus, who was set free in return for his evidence. While a few justly obnoxious persons perished at first, a far greater number of worthy citizens were soon seized and executed, among them not only men who had served the state with munificence and ability, but even some of the best members of the oligarchical party itself. In the perpetration of these crimes even respectable citizens were forced to render service, §§ 30, 90, so that, by becoming compromised in the doings of the Thirty, they might, for their own safety's sake, be disinclined to a counter-revolution, in which power might pass into avenging hands.

Excesses like these roused immediate opposition. In the circle of the Thirty itself there was a section of less fanatical sentiments led by Theramenes. He had at first been as forward as any to sanguinary measures. But, partly from sagacious foresight of the ruinous consequences of an unmitigated policy, and partly from jealousy of the predominating influence of Critias, he began to play the part of an opposition leader, declaring that regard must be had to public opinion, and support for the government must be looked for in the community which they governed. These views would probably have controlled the policy of the body in favor of milder measures, had it not been for an audacious stroke of Critias, who suddenly overawed the senate with an armed force, and handed Theramenes over at once to the ministers of death. Such a death not only redeemed his character in some sort, but even secured to him an extravagant degree of praise, as a martyr

to the cause of justice. That this posthumous credit of Theramenes furnished some political capital to men like Eratosthenes, is clear from the elaborate effort which Lysias makes in this oration, §§ 62-78, to exhibit Theramenes, with whom Eratosthenes claimed to have acted, in the odious character which was really his.

More successful were the operations which Thrasybulus, at the head of a small armed force of exiles, with aid from Boeotia, commenced in November, 404, by the seizure of the stronghold of Phyle, fourteen miles north of Athens, and followed up in a few days by the occupation of Munychia, the acropolis of Piræus. The pulling down a part of the walls of Piræus, instead of keeping Athens at the feet of her conquerors, had opened a road to her liberators. In Piræus the ruin of maritime interests had intensified the popular discontent, and the number to whom the liberators might look for reinforcements had been swelled by the influx of more than five thousand fugitives from Athens. And when the Thirty endeavored at once to carry by assault the strong position which Thrasybulus had taken on the hill of Munychia, a defeat followed, in which seventy of the assailants were slain, and, what was of especial consequence, Critias himself fell, together with Hippomachus, another of the Thirty. As an immediate result, the moderate party among the oligarchs became predominant, and the Thirty gave place, about February, 403, to the Ten, § 54. Only one of the Thirty, Phidon, became a member of the new board. Eratosthenes, however, remained with him in the city, inspiring the councils of the government, § 58, though not nominally holding power. The rest of the surviving members of the deposed board retired to Eleusis, which, by the seizure and execution of a large number of innocent citizens, § 52, they had previously taken care to make secure for themselves as a city of refuge.

Instead, however, of any accommodation with the exiles resulting, as had been hoped, from the change of rulers, hostilities continued between the city and Piræus, § 55, a struggle whose terms, as Lysias bitterly says, were such that the city men, if victorious, would be enslaved by usurpers, while the humiliation and suffering of defeat must be borne in order to obtain equal rights with the conquerors, § 92. In this struggle, Lysias himself, despoiled though he had been by the Thirty, lent valuable aid, contributing two hundred shields, and two thousand drachms in cash, besides hiring three hundred fresh soldiers, and negotiating a loan of two talents from his friend, Thra-

sydæus of Elis. With such a spirit among the patriots, with continual accessions from the numerous exiles, and with some aid from other cities, the Piræus party kept the city party on the defensive, until the intervention of a Spartan force at the call of the Ten, § 60.

Had Lysander, whom the Ten had expressly desired as commander of these succors, § 59, taken control of affairs at that crisis, it would have gone ill with Thrasybulus and his compatriots. But such indignation had been excited even among the confederates of Sparta by the Lysandrian policy as displayed in Athens and the other subjugated cities, that it became the interest of Sparta to rid Athens of her misery. And so, after Lysander had been sent forth to settle in his own way the disturbances at Athens, the king Pausanias, his personal and political opponent, having won over to his views a majority of the Ephors, was appointed, in May, to supersede him in the chief command. Under his auspices, after some fighting and long negotiation, at the end of ten months of civil war, peace was re-established, in September, 403. The exiles in Piræus were restored, and a general amnesty was sworn to, from whose benefits there were excepted only the Thirty, the Eleven who had executed their sentences, and the Ten who had governed in Piræus (not to be confounded with the Ten who had succeeded the Thirty). The democratical constitution was now immediately restored as soon as possible; but the practice of payment for the performance of the duties of citizenship was not re-established.

Under the new order of things, however, Eleusis was left in possession of the Thirty and their adherents, an asylum for all refugees of that party, and a stronghold of conspiracy and treason. It was not long before their proceedings provoked the Athenians to take the field against them with the entire force of the city. In the course of these hostilities the generals of the oligarchs were seized and put to death. After the flight of the rest of the Thirty and other obnoxious persons, Eleusis was re-incorporated, with oaths of mutual amnesty and harmony, in one political community with Athens.

But when the exiles had returned, impoverished, and smarting under the wrongs which had been inflicted on them and their innocent relatives, especially as they daily felt the hateful presence of the men who, for revenge or gain, had committed or abetted those outrages, attempts were not wanting, in evasion of the amnesty, to seek reparation by instituting legal proceedings against the guilty parties. In consequence of such attempts it became necessary, in the year after

the restoration, to pass the law of Archinus, by which any defendant in such cases was entitled to plead the amnesty in bar of all proceedings.

Previous to this, and probably while the exiled tyrants were still in occupation of Eleusis, Lysias brought his complaint against Eratosthenes, who, with Phidon, seems to have remained in the city. The compact which excluded the Thirty from the amnesty conceded even to them the privilege of remaining, if they were ready to submit their conduct as members of the government to the judgment of the people (see *General Note* to the next oration, 2, *Euthyne*). In venturing on this course Eratosthenes probably placed reliance on the posthumous credit of Theramenes as a martyr, which he might claim to share as having acted with him. Lysias certainly seems conscious of a strong prejudice in a portion of his hearers in favor of Eratosthenes. The selection of the dicasts by lot brought, of course, men of all parties into the panel. Some there doubtless were who, however they disliked the Thirty, were not of the popular party, and not likely to vote with it in the secret suffrage of the dicastery, § 91. Others, either voluntarily or by constraint, had so compromised themselves with the Thirty, as to be too lenient judges. Some may have felt that, if Eratosthenes were convicted, they might not themselves be safe. Furthermore, men of standing and eloquence were ready to speak for Eratosthenes, § 86, and there was no lack of persons to testify in his favor, §§ 87, 88.

In contending against these adverse influences, and in appealing to the sympathies and the patriotism of his hearers, Lysias seems to have bent all his genius to the performance of the sacred duty which, both according to Athenian custom, § 24, and in obedience to natural impulses, he owed to his murdered brother. As, however, the guilt of that murder could not be brought directly home to Eratosthenes, who could plausibly contend, § 25, that he had been forced by his colleagues to make the arrest, and that he had then pleaded, though in vain, for the life of the prisoner; Lysias does not confine himself to his personal complaint. This occupies, in fact, only the first third of the oration, beyond which Lysias proceeds, in behalf of his injured country, to enlarge upon the whole iniquitous and treasonable career of the Thirty, in which he contends that Eratosthenes, as a voluntary partner of the usurpers, was equally inculpated and responsible.

We can easily conceive what public interest must have been excited.

in this, the first important judicial proceeding after the restoration of the constitution. A discourse so charged with just resentment toward the authors of so many private wrongs and public disasters, pronounced, as it was, before the deep impressions of two years of misery and dishonor had begun to fade away, must have waked stirring echoes in many a patriotic bosom and many a bereaved heart. The orator commends himself to us also by his modesty as well as his eloquence, such is the reticence which he maintains respecting those praiseworthy exertions and sacrifices, known to all, which he had put forth for the enfranchisement of his adopted city. Undoubtedly first in order of composition among the author's orations, this one is not inferior to any either in interest or in merit. In his capacity as prosecutor in such a cause, Lysias had the opportunity, which otherwise he would have lacked, to plead the cause of the city itself. In so doing, he was able to review the whole of the recent history of the city, and to instruct the people, as a political leader, upon their situation and its duties. And so his discourse rises from a mere plea for justice upon a criminal, to the rank of a statesmanlike oration.

It is a singular circumstance that no record is extant of the result of so important a trial, so that we must remain without the satisfaction of knowing that Lysias gained his case.

#### GENERAL NOTE ON POINTS OF THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION TOUCHED IN THIS ORATION.

1. *The Archons.* After the kingly office ceased in Athens, the chief magistrate was styled archon (ἀρχων). This office, at first for life, and then for a term of ten years, became, B. C. 683, an annual magistracy, and its honors and duties were distributed between nine individuals, who, after a time, instead of election by suffrage, were designated by lot. The chief of these, styled by eminence *the archon*, gave his name to the year of his office, and was thence called the archon *eponymus* (ἐπώνυμος); he was the legal protector of widows and orphans, and judge in certain family matters. The next, or *king archon* (ἀρχων βασιλεύς), had superintendence in matters of religion, and in cases of homicide, which it was his duty to bring before the Areopagus. The third archon, styled the *poetarch* (πολέμαρχος),



was commander of the army, and judge in disputes between citizens and non-citizens. Each of these three had also the superintendence of particular religious festivals. The remaining six, styled *legislators* (*θεσμοθέτας*), had it for their duty to report to the people every year on the subject of the revision of the laws, and to be judges in matters not reserved to the superior archons. But the chief part of their duties was in the receiving of informations, and in bringing cases to trial in the courts. After the Persian War, the archons were withdrawn from political and military duties, and their judicial power was limited to the imposition of small fines. From the time of Pericles, the archon simply received complaints, and conducted the preliminary inquiries, fixed the day of trial, and presided over the dicastery which heard and decided the case. The person of an archon, when wearing the official chaplet of myrtle, was sacred; he had the privilege of exemption from the *trierarchy* (see *Trierarch*), and at the expiration of his year of office, if his record was such as to bear the customary scrutiny, he became a member of the Areopagus (see *Areopagus*).

2. The *Areopagus* (ὁ Ἄρειος πᾶγος) was a rocky eminence opposite the western end of the Acropolis, and in close proximity. The name was transferred to the *council* or *senate which assembled there*, holding its sittings in the open air. Instituted in remote antiquity, and originally the sole council of the city, it retained its pristine honor more permanently than any other part of the Athenian constitution. Its powers, varying at different periods, were of a somewhat elastic and discretionary nature, and were regulated to some extent by that public opinion of the better citizens which the body was supposed to reflect. It was composed exclusively of past archons, sitting in it for life after the expiration of their archonship. It had particular oversight of matters connected with religion, and of cases of homicide; while at one time, as supervisor in general of the public morals, it exercised functions analogous to those of the Roman censors. In times of emergency, the Areopagus seems to have acted as a Vigilance Committee, or as a Committee of Safety, § 69, and miscellaneous public matters were from time to time referred to it. As the single political body which was neither elective nor otherwise responsible to the people, it formed for some time an obstacle to the complete development of democratical principles (see Curtius, *Hist.* II. p. 420 *sqq.*), until, about B. C. 461, Ephialtes, in conjunction with Pericles,

carried a law which abolished its political power. Thenceforward, although retaining its judicial competence chiefly in cases of homicide, and shorn of its amplest powers, it was still retained during the period of the freest democracy as a venerable relic of the primitive aristocratic institutions, and, especially in its capacity of a criminal court, enjoyed a reputation of long continuance. After the restoration of the constitution, B. C. 403, the Areopagus regained its ancient dignity as guardian of the commonwealth, by being intrusted with the duty of seeing to the accurate observance and the unimpaired preservation of the newly arranged laws.

3. The Athenian *Dicast* (δικαστής) was a member of a dicastery (δικαστήριον), a body which sat to give judgment (δικάζειν) in proceedings at law. By the laws of Solon, B. C. 594, the assembly of the people had the power of reviewing and pronouncing upon the administration of the archons, at the expiration of their year of office. In the time of Clisthenes, B. C. 509, the collective body of citizens above thirty years of age appears to have been convoked and sworn to try persons accused of public crimes, and in such a capacity to have borne the name of *heliasts* (ἡλιασταί), or the *heliæa* (ἡλιαία). But as the extension of the sway of Athens brought more and more law business to that city, the accumulation of that business made it necessary to subdivide the heliasts. In the time of Pericles, nearly the whole judicial power, in civil cases as well as criminal, was transferred to the dicasteries thus formed. Six hundred citizens being annually selected by lot from each of the ten tribes, five sixths of the total number were divided into sections, or panels, of five hundred each, in which members of all the tribes were thrown together indiscriminately, while the remaining thousand were held as a reserve from which to fill vacancies. The *thesmothetae*, or six junior archons, decided by lot which panel should sit, and where, and who should preside at the trial. In some important cases two or more panels were united, sometimes only a fraction of a panel sat, but the usual number was a full five hundred. Not only Athenians, but the subject allies also were amenable to these tribunals, whose number, whose assignment by lot, and whose secret ballot, § 91, prevented that intimidation or corruption to which smaller or differently constituted bodies might have been liable. The dicasts were sworn in collectively at the beginning of their annual term of service. The court-rooms were painted of different colors, and each had its letter of the

alphabet inscribed over the doorway. Each dicast also bore a staff, on which was painted the color and the letter of the court allotted to him. The dicasts sat on benches spread with rugs or matting. The advocates, during their addresses, occupied an elevated stand (*βῆμα*). "The city," says Curtius, "resembled a vast court of law, when, early in the morning, the hosts of jurymen, the fourth part of the entire civic body, were seen moving" (*Hist.*, II. p. 499.) For each day of service the dicast received at first one, and afterwards three oboli. At the latter rate, the annual amount of the dicasts' fees, in the most flourishing period of the city, was one hundred and fifty talents.

The dicastery, in giving its verdict, voted by ballot (*ψηφον φέρειν*). The most common way was for each dicast to drop into a box one of two pebbles or balls of stone (*ψηφοί*), which had been furnished him. One of these was black, and the other white; or one was pierced, and the other whole: the white pebble, or the whole one, meant acquittal (*ἀποψηφίζεσθαι*); the others, condemnation (*καταψηφίζεσθαι*). The pebble not used in the ballot was dropped into another box, and thus the secrecy of the ballot was secured.

For a discussion of the practical working of the dicasteries, and a comparison of them with modern juries, see the valuable remarks of Grote, *Hist.*, V. pp. 385-400.

4. A *Synegorus* was one who pleaded a case at law in behalf of another. The traditional usage at Athens for parties to plead their own cases in court was modified by the development of law, and the cultivation of rhetoric, which put unlearned and inexperienced men at disadvantage with better versed opponents. A class of men sprang up, of whom Antiphon, § 67, first became distinguished, who gave legal advice to others, and wrote speeches for clients. Lysias himself, as well as Isæus and Isocrates, obtained considerable income by such speech-writing: these were *λογογράφοι*, as distinguished from *συνήγοροι*. In general, while a party was still expected to speak for himself, the old rule was relaxed, so that, after a short speech, he might obtain permission to yield the floor to his more capable friend, or *συνήγορος*. Thus the principal speeches were frequently made by the advocate, as being *δεινὸς λέγειν*, § 86. But as no fees were suffered to be paid for this service, the advocate was expected to show the court what motive led him to appear.

As to the number of advocates allowed in any one case, there was

only this limitation, that the time allowed to a side was all the same, whatever the number of speakers. Each party had two opportunities to be heard; the plaintiff opening, and the defendant replying; then the plaintiff speaking again, and the defendant closing.

In criminal trials, it was common to have several speakers for the prosecution; especially in cases where the state was materially interested. A public advocate employed by the state to assist in a prosecution was allowed the fee of a drachm.

5. A *Liturgy* (λειτουργία) was a personal service which was required of certain citizens, who, as larger property-holders, were expected to be larger burden-bearers. Liturgies were classified as ordinary and extraordinary, and the former class might be imposed on any citizen — save a few specially exempted — who possessed as much as three talents. These liturgies came in turn to the members of the several tribes who possessed the requisite property, but not more than one liturgy at a time, and not oftener than every other year. The tax thus imposed on the wealthy was in general liberally discharged (see the next oration, § 13, and the following oration, § 31). To fulfil only the letter of the requisition seemed to many incompatible with true public spirit. Nor were cases wanting in which a wealthy citizen would volunteer to undertake a liturgy out of turn. In times of stringency, a liturgy was sometimes undertaken by two persons jointly, especially the choregia and the trierarchy, which latter is the only liturgy which may be properly classed as extraordinary.

6. An Athenian *Trierarch* (τριήραρχος) was charged with somewhat more than the duty, which is implied in his title, of commanding a trireme.

Though sometimes wealthy citizens patriotically furnished and served in their own ships, yet ordinarily the state provided the trierarchs with their vessels, at least the hulls and masts. Like modern ships, each trireme in the Athenian navy had its name, as "the Siren," "the Liberty," "the Democracy," etc. The Athenian harbors were calculated for four hundred triremes; three hundred was the normal number held in readiness for service, capable of taking on board a force of sixty thousand men. Sixty triremes regularly cruised in the Ægæan as a police squadron and for practice. The equipment, certainly in the Sicilian expedition, B. C. 415, was at the cost of the trierarchs; and at a later period, when triremes were fitted out from the public stores, repairs were at their expense, while they

were also obliged to return in good condition the rigging and equipments which they had received. Sometimes, from motives of display, a trierarch would go to unnecessary expense with his own means in the outfit of his ship. The procuring of a crew made another item of cost to the trierarch. Among the crews were many aliens, freed-men, and slaves, but the nucleus of each crew consisted of Athenian citizens. These were ordinarily obtained through the demarchs from the several demes; but it occasionally became necessary for the trierarchs to give bounties to induce fit persons to serve. To meet such costs, a client of Demosthenes, B. C. 361, had even to mortgage his estate. Pay and provisions for the sailors and marines were supplied at the public cost. The expense to the trierarch of his year of office averaged about 50 minæ, or over \$944.

After B. C. 358, the burdens of the trierarchy, which had previously been borne in turn by the individual members of the tribes, were distributed among the twelve hundred richest citizens, grouped in twenty *symmories* (*συμμορίας*) of sixty members each.

7. The *Choregia* (*χορηγία*) was the most expensive of the Athenian liturgies of the ordinary kind. The burdens of the office lay in providing choruses of different kinds for the various dramatic and other performances connected with the public festivals.

Dramatic entertainments were not of daily occurrence at Athens, as with us, but were exhibited at great festivals, the *Lenææ* and the *Dionysia*, held in honor of Dionysus (or Bacchus). At such times, the theatre was crowded the day long, while play after play was acted. When a poet wished to bring out a play, application was made to the second archon, or in case of the great *Dionysia*, to the first archon, who, if the play were deemed deserving, nominated a *choregus* (*χορηγός*), whose duty it was to bring out the play with a suitable chorus (*χóρος*). In the earliest times the choregus himself led the chorus, as his name — chorus-leader — implies. It was at the poet's option to train the chorus himself, or to have the services of a professional trainer. From the time of Sophocles the ordinary chorus for a tragedy was composed of fifteen. In a comedy, the number of the chorus was commonly twenty-four. The specific duties of the choregus were to procure the choreutæ (*χορευταί*), or members of the chorus, to provide a trainer and a training-room, to pay and support both the trainer and his class during their preparations, and furnish the necessary costumes for the exhibition. The burden of the chore-

gia varied with the nature of the chorus ; the expense of a single chorus averaged perhaps half a talent, or about \$550. The emulation of the choregi made the service the more expensive. The choregus who was judged to have done the best received the prize of a tripod. The whole expense of the play, however, by no means devolved upon the choregus. Demosthenes reproved his countrymen with lavishing larger sums on their festivals than on their naval service. "Count the cost of their tragedies," says Plutarch ; "you will find that their Œdipuses and Antigones and Medeas and Electras cost more than their wars for supremacy with the other Greeks, and their struggles for freedom against the barbarians."

8. The *Eisphora* (εἰσφορά) was an extraordinary tax on property, levied whenever the burdens of war required. It was laid by a decree of the assembly, and collected under the superintendence of the strategi. To defray the expenses of the siege of Mytilene, B. C. 428, the sum of 200 talents was thus raised at one time.

9. A *Metæcus* (μέτοικος) was a resident foreigner. Athens, as the commercial emporium and literary centre of Greece, was the favorite resort and residence of strangers from every quarter. "Whoever," says Curtius, "considered himself an adept in his art, was aware that no place existed where he would meet with a readier recognition or with ampler gains." (*Hist.*, II. p. 539.) The population of Attica was about half a million, of whom 90,000 were citizens, 45,000 metæci, and 365,000 slaves. The civic duties required of the native Athenians were so engrossing as to throw nearly all business, industrial and mercantile, into the hands of metæci, who on this account resided mostly in Piræus. The Athenian metæcus was subject to the same burdens as the citizen, certain liturgies excepted ; was obliged to serve in both the army and the fleet ; was taxed somewhat higher than citizens of the same valuation, besides being subject to an annual alien-tax of twelve drachms on each family. Yet he was not permitted to become a real-estate owner, but must live in a hired house, and must have some citizen for patron (προστάτης), through whom alone he could transact legal business, private or public. An Athenian metæcus might, however, like Lysias, obtain the *isotely* (ἰσοτέλεια), a condition of immunity from the disadvantages of aliens, which was inferior in privilege only to the condition of the native citizen, who possessed the right of suffrage and was eligible to office. In the war of liberation which Thrasybulus waged, the re-

ward of isotelty was promised to all aliens who should assist the patriot cause.

10. A *Sycophant* (*συκοφάντης*, literally, a fig-shower) was originally a person who informed against another for exporting figs. The exportation of figs had been prohibited by law at an early period in the history of Attica; and this law, though it had ceased to be sustained by public sentiment, was meanly made use of by some informers from motives of gain. Their practices were facilitated by the Athenian policy of encouraging the detection of offences by permitting any person to prosecute any offender in court. But the obnoxious character of such informations under an almost obsolete law indelibly stained the name of sycophant as a term of reproach, denoting the bringer of malicious and vexatious accusations. The evil import of the term expanded, conformably to the usual character of the class of persons to whom it was originally applied. And so, its primary meaning disappearing, it came to signify, in general, a slanderer, a black-mailer, a lying scoundrel, an extortioner. Nevertheless, as the informer, in case of conviction, received half the penalty, and as guilty persons were often glad to pay hush-money, the disgraceful business had no lack of followers, and the most stringent laws were not able to suppress the evil.

To the preceding references to the political and social constitution of Athens the following, of a more miscellaneous nature, are subjoined, derived mainly from Bancroft's *Literary and Historical Miscellanies*, art. *Economy of Athens*.

11. *Attic Money*. If Böckh's estimate of the Attic talent as worth 5,625 francs be accepted, then (the franc being now worth 19 $\frac{3}{4}$  cents) a talent = \$1,085+. The following table exhibits the values and equivalents of the several denominations:—

1 obolus (ὀβολός)		=	\$0.03
6 oboli	= 1 drachme (δραχμή)	=	0.181
100 drachmæ	= 1 mina (μνᾶ)	=	18.09
60 minæ	= 1 talent (τάλαντον)	=	1,085.00 +

The same authority reckons the Attic gold stater, the Cyzicene stater, and the daric as of equal value, each worth about 20 drachms, or \$3.62. Smith's *Dict. Anc. Geog.*, art. *Cyzicus*, reckons the Cyzicene as = 28 drachms, or \$5.06.

The ratio between ancient and modern prices is stated as one to three. This does not vary much from the result obtained by comparing the

prices of wheat. Wheat brought at Athens, B. C. 390-380, thirty-six cents a bushel; in the age of Demosthenes, sixty cents was a moderate price. Wheat is quoted at Boston this summer (1875) at from \$1.17 to \$1.48.

*The cost of living at Athens.* A house could be bought for a price varying from \$54 to \$2,160, according to size, location, and quality. \$1,000 would buy a very fair house. Twice that sum was an extreme price. The average price of an acre of good land in Attica was \$36. Estates were small and greatly subdivided.

Provisions were cheap. The retailer of wheat was restricted to a profit of three cents on a bushel. The wine of Attica brought about two cents a quart, and a fair article could be had for half that sum. The best beeves brought, in prosperous times, from \$9 to \$13.20. Board was, as we say, reasonable. Demosthenes, his mother and sister, together paid for their board \$126 a year, providing the house besides.

As to clothing, a good cloak might cost \$2.16; a fashionable coat, \$3.60. A good quality of women's shoes could be had for 36 cents a pair; men's ditto, a showy article, \$1.44.

Manual labor could be hired for twelve cents a day. This was not bad, considering the rates of salaries. Senators received 18 cents for each day of service; jurymen, half that sum. A foot-soldier received 36 cents a day for pay and rations for himself and attendant, the officers twice, and the generals only four times that amount. "Stars" at the theatres, however, were paid as liberally as now-a-days. The highest sum mentioned is \$1,085 for two days' service.

Travelling was not expensive. From Ægina to Piræus, sixteen miles, the fare was six cents. From Egypt to Pontus, thirty-six cents.

Funerals were expensive. The cost of a funeral would pay for a house. The scale ran from \$54 to \$2,160.

The quantity of fuel that an ass could carry sold for 36 cents.

Slaves outnumbered the free population three to one, and could be bought cheap. Prices varied from \$8.25 to \$30. A skilful workman would bring about \$90. Everybody, even the poorest, was served by slave-labor.

12. *Athens and Piræus*, the city and port, although enclosed within the same fortifications, and inseparably united as a double city, — see Note to § 40 of this oration, — were internally as unlike as possible.



"While Athens, hastily rebuilt amidst her ruins, as necessity demanded, was disorderly, devoid of plan, and full of narrow and crooked lanes, the Piræus, on the other hand, was a modern city, with large open places, roomy cloistered halls, broad and rectangular streets, — in its entirety a work of art, the creation of Hippodamns." (Curtius, *Hist.*, II. 611.) In the city, the houses were of wood or unburnt brick, of a single story generally, and often unsightly and mean. The city contained about 10,000 houses. The public buildings were disproportionately costly. The Propylæa, or Gateway of the Acropolis, cost \$2,183,020; and the docks (see *Note* to § 99 of this oration), \$1,085,620.

"Privatus illis census erat brevis,  
Commune magnum."

HOR. OD. II. 15, 18.

## NOTES.

### XII.

#### ANALYSIS.

(For the filling up of this outline, see the Notes in successive sections.)

#### PART A. — SPECIFIC PLEA UPON THE INDICTMENT FOR MURDER.

- I. Introduction, §§ 1-3.
- II. Narration of the facts, §§ 4-20.
- III. Comments on the facts narrated, §§ 20-23.
- IV. Confirmatory, §§ 24-26.
  - a. By examination of the defendant, § 25.
  - b. By discussion of his statements, §§ 26-26.

#### PART B. — GENERAL ARRAIGNMENT OF THE DEFENDANT AS A TRAITOR AND TYRANT WORTHY OF DEATH, § 37 *seq.*

- I. Narration of his political career, §§ 39-61.
- II. Refutation of his claim to favor on the score of Theramenes, §§ 62-80.
- III. Comments on the complete case, §§ 81-91.
- IV. Appeal to the jury, §§ 92-98.
- V. Peroration, §§ 99, 100.

1. — ἀρχαῖα, H., 691. The *exordium* of the oration includes the first three sections, in which, respectively, the orator sets forth (1) the *importance* of the case, (2) its *peculiarity*, and (3) *his own inability* to do it justice. — ἀνδρες δικασταί, see *General Note*, 3. ἀνδρες is here used, like our

"gentlemen," as an appellation of respect. See *Buttmann's Gr.*, § 123, N. 6. — κατηγορίας, H., 574, b. — λέγοντι, the concluding word attracted by the introductory μοι: see XVI. § 13, *Note on παρασκευάσαντι*: λέγοντα could also have been used. — τοιαῦτα, the omission of γάρ makes the style more energetic. — αὐτοῖς. Although Eratosthenes only was indicted, yet the orator means to make him the scapegoat of the Thirty. Hence the frequent alternations between references to him and to them throughout this oration. — μέγας, strictly denoting magnitude, has here a qualitative force in connection with the qualitative τοιαῦτα = "such in enormity." — ψευδόμενον...δύνασθαι, G., 52, 1; 53. For the position of δ, G., 42, Note 1. δ might have been repeated with the second disjunctive, G., 42, 3. — ἀνάγκη, "scarcely found construed otherwise than in this elliptical manner." (*Buttmann's Gr.*, § 129, N. 18.) Supply ἐστὶ. — ἀπατεῖν...ἐπιλιπεῖν; notice the rhyme-like ending, ὁμοιοτέλευτον, — a rhetorical ornament not uncommon both in Greek and Latin rhetoricians. Compare with the introductory thought, οὐκ ἀρξασθαι, as amplified in this section, the remark of Cicero in beginning his oration for the Manilian law: "*huius autem orationis difficilior est exitum quam principium invenire; ita mihi non tam copia quam modus in dicendo quaerendus est.*"

2. — ἐν τῇ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ = "aforetime," literally, "in the time before the (present)." For πρὸ τοῦ, see G., 143, 2. H., 525, d. — ἐχθραν...ἐπιδέξαι, in justification of the complaint, inasmuch as false accusations were often brought by the so-called sycophants (see *General Note*, 10, *Sycophant*) against persons with whom they had no just quarrel. Compare Cicero in defence of Roscius, § 55: "*nemo nostrum est, Eruci, quin sciat tibi inimicitias cum Sez. Roscio nullas esse: vident omnes quia de causa huic inimicus venias; sciunt huiusce pecunia te adductum esse.*" — ἐχθραν, H., 726. — ἦτις εἶπεν, G., 68, 3, and 70, 2. — τοὺς φεύγοντας; in law, φεύγω had the technical meaning of "to be prosecuted"; hence, ὁ φεύγων = "the defendant." — ἦτις ἦν, G., 70, 1. — ἀνθ' ὅτου, "in consequence of which," H., 813; see ἀνθ' ἡστωνος, XXV., § 12. — ὡς οὐκ ἔχων. See XVI., § 8, ὡς...πεποιηκώς, and *Note*. — ἐχθρας καὶ συμφοράς, the latter term is coupled with the former as being its consequent; the calamities were caused by enemies. — τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦμαι; λόγοι has sometimes in forensic use the specific meaning of *accusations*. See XXV., § 2, ποιοῦνται τοὺς λόγους. — ἀφθονίας οὐδης, G., 111.

3. — πρέξας, G., 109, 7. The orator desires indulgence toward his maiden speech. — τοῦτον, H., 583, fine print. — ὥστε κατέστην, see XVI., § 2, *Note on ὥστε ἐλπίσω*. The aorist is here nearly equivalent to the present, G., 30, 1, N. 1, "I am frequently quite despondent lest," etc., and hence governs the mood of the dependent sentence like a primary tense. — ποιήσομαι, G., 46, N. 1. So also Sauppe and Frohberger, instead of the

common *ποιήσωμαι*. With his own inexperience Lysias contrasts, § 86, the ability of the opposing advocates. — *δὲ ἐλαχίστων*, see XVI., § 9, *διὰ βραχυράτων*, and *Note*.

4. — The accuser, in grim earnest, now hastens to plunge in *medias res*. The case against *Eratosthenes*, introduced, § 4, with the briefest reference to the accuser's blameless and trustworthy character, is put into a trenchant narrative of facts, concluding at § 20.

Οὐμός = ὁ ἐμός. — *ἐπεσθῇ μὲν... ἐτη δέ*. *μὲν* and *δέ* are very often used as here, where there is either no antithesis or a weak one, merely to exhibit the antecedent and the consequent proposition in their connection. When so used *μὲν* is untranslated. — *Περικλέους*. Pericles, the son of that Xanthippus who defeated the Persians at Mycale, B. C. 479, was the greatest statesman of Athens. Born of a good family, reserved and stately in his manners, well educated, and endowed with an impressive eloquence, foresighted and self-controlled, a born leader of men, but mild and liberal toward opponents, he influenced the public policy for a period of about forty years. Under his guidance the democracy of Athens realized its complete development in well-balanced institutions; while through the improvement of agriculture, the extension of commerce, the cultivation of letters and philosophy, the fortification of the city, and its ornamentation by magnificent edifices and other works of art, the period of his ascendancy was the golden age of Athens. — *ἐτη*, G., 161. H., 550. Cephalus had probably been dead some fourteen years. — *δίκην*, see XVI., *General Note*, 7. — *ἐδικασάμεθα*, H. 689, b. Notice that the verb agrees with *ἡμεῖς*. In English, on the contrary, after a disjunctive, the verb must agree with the nearest subject. — *ῥηκοῦμεν*, we as a family lived. — *ὥστε... ἔξαμαρτάναν*, G., 98, 1. The compound verb here in the sense of the uncompounded.

5. — *συκοφάνται*, see *General Note*, 10. — *κατέστησαν*, is this a first or second aorist? H., 416, a. — *φάσκοντες*, begins the principal sentence, or apodosis, H., 732. — *τῶν ἀδίκων*, G., 180, 2. H., 584, f. As to the fact, see Xen. *Hell.*, II. 3, 12, in Goodwin's *Gr. Reader*, pp. 65, 66: "Ἐπειτα πρῶτον μὲν, οὓς πάντες ἦδσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας, καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες, ὑπῆγον θανάτου· καὶ ἡ τε βουλὴ ἡδῶς αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο, οἱ τε ἄλλοι, ὅσοι ξυνήδσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι, οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. — *πολίτας*, subject of *τραπέσθαι*. — *τοιαῦτα λέγοντες*, a condensed repetition of the clause *φάσκοντες... τραπέσθαι*, so as to bring out more strongly the contrast between *saying* and *doing*, which is previously implied in *φάσκοντες* = "alleging." — *πρῶτον εἰπὼν*, "after I have first spoken."

6. — Compare *ἔλεγον* and § 7, *ἔπειθον*, with the following *ἔδοξεν*; the imperfect tenses denote introductory and preparatory action, the aorist conclusive action. — *μετοίκων*, see *General Note*, 9. — *ὡς εἰπὼν*, G., 68, 2. —

**χρηματίζεσθαι** was no part of the *πρόφασις* just mentioned, but the result of it, and might well have taken *ἀν* as the apodosis of a condition here suppressed. See, however, *L. & S. Lex.*, *πρόφασις*. — **πίνεσθαι**, the natural consequence of the long and exhausting war. — **χρημάτων**, for the maintenance of the Lacedæmonian garrison, and other retainers.

7. — **ἀποκτινύναι μὲν... ἡγούντο, λαμβάνειν δὲ... ἐποιούντο**. Notice the balance of the antithetical sentence in its two equal clauses, a good case of the rhetorical figure *isocolon*. See remarks on Lysias's style in the *Biographical Introduction*. Compare also with *ἡγούντο... ἐποιούντο, ἀπειπὲν... ἐπιλιπεῖν*, § 1, and *Note*. The orator here throws out, in the form of a comment on his preceding remark, the very proposition which he was expecting by and by to prove; but he knew that many of his hearers were ready to accept it in advance of proof. — **περὶ οὐδενός... περὶ πολλοῦ**, *H.*, 650, *b.* — **δέκα**. Xenophon, as above quoted, says, § 21: *ἐδοξε... τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν*. This would make thirty arrests. Lysias probably states the fact more correctly. — **ἦ... πῆρακται... γεγένηται**, all forms of direct discourse. What would the indirect forms be? *G.*, 74, 1. — **ὥσπερ... πεποιηκότες**, *G.*, 109, *N.* 9. Instead of *πεποιηκόσι*, in agreement with the preceding *αὐτοῖς*, the nominative is used (*constructio ad sensum*) as if *ὡς ἀπολογίαν ἔχουσιν* had preceded. See *Buttmann's Gr.*, § 144, *N.* 5.

8. — **τὰς οἰκίας**, *H.*, 527, *a.*, "the houses" of the proscribed. — **ἰβάδιζον**, compare the tense with the following *κατέλαβον*, and see *Note* in § 6 on *ἐλεγον*, etc. To enter and search a private house without a warrant (given by decree of the people) was regarded at Athens just as it is in our own country. See § 30, and compare Demosthenes's *De Corona*, § 132: *κεκραγώς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δευὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἡνυχηκotas τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἀνευ ψηφίσματος*. — **ἐργαστήριον**, the shield-manufactory of Lysias and his brother. — **ἀπεγράφοντο**, "took a list." This was the legal term to denote taking the inventory of property to which the state laid claim. *H.* 689. For distinction between active and middle, see *L. & S. Lex.* — **ἡρώτων**, notice the descriptive imperfect here, and in *ἔφασκεν* below. — **εἰ βούλοιο**, *G.*, 70, 2, *p.* 151, examples, and 71, *N.* 1: the direct question was *βούλει*; — **χρήματα λαβών**, equivalent to our phrase, "for a consideration."

9. — **τάλαντον**, see *General Note*, 11. — **οὔτε θεοὺς... νομίζει**, not a common combination in classic Greek, but reminding us of the unjust judge in the parable, "who feared not God, neither regarded man." *Luke* xviii. 2. — **ἐκ τῶν παρόντων**, "under the circumstances."

10. — **ᾤωσεν**, *G.*, 19, *N.* 4. The object clause is *λαβών... σώσειν*. — **τὸ δωμάτιον**, "my little room," a bedchamber, probably. — **τὴν κίβωτον**, "my chest," *G.*, 141, *N.* 2. *H.*, 527, *d.* — **ἀνοίγνυμι**, *G.*, 10, 2. — **ὑπηρετών**, officers attending on him. For synonyms, see VII., § 16, *note*.

11. — οὐχ ὅσον, supply μόνον, "not merely as much as." The cash portion of the seizure can be estimated from the table given in the *General Note*, 11. — ἀγαπήσιν, "would be glad." — σώσω, *G.*, 50, 1, *N.* 1, and 74, 1.

12. — ἐπιτυγχάνει, *H.*, 511, *h*, for ἐπιτυγχάνουσι. Melobius and Mnesithides were also members of the Thirty. — βαδίζομεν, the optative may follow secondary tenses, *G.*, 70, 2, and the historic present, ἐρωτῶσω, being used for the aorist, is in effect a secondary tense. — τάδελοφού, for the *crasis*, see *G.*, 11, 1, (*b*), *H.*, 69, *R.* c: for the genitive, limiting an omitted word, *G.*, 141, *N.* 4. *H.*, 509, *β.* — σκέψεται, *G.*, 44, 2, and *N.* 1.

13. — ὥς ἦξων, *G.*, 277, 3, and *N.* 2: translate, "as he would come." — κινδυνεύειν, "to make a venture." — τοῦ γε ἀποθανεῖν, *G.*, 262, 2. *H.*, 781.

14. — τὰδε, *H.*, 679. — ἦκα, *G.*, 200, *N.* 3. *H.*, 698. — εἰς τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν, and, accordingly, under your protection, so far as you can give it. — ἀπόλλυμαι, *G.*, 10, *N.* 7. These short, pithy sentences, coupled with the hasty δέ, picturesquely represent the urgency of the critical situation. — παράσχου; the second aor. mid. imperative is perispomenon, when simple. *H.*, 367, *a*. But "the compound imperatives follow the general rule." *Buttmann's Gr.*, p. 160. — ταῦτα, see note on τὰδε above. The plural embraces everything that might be included in the single request. — μνησθήναι, supply περὶ ἐμοῦ.

15. — ἔμπαρος γάρ; γάρ = "inasmuch as." — οἰκίας, *H.*, 584, *c*. For the (conjectural) plan of a Greek house, see Smith's *Dict. Antiq.* art. *Domus*, p. 426. — ἀμφύθυρος, here with special reference to the rear or garden door. — σωθήσομαι, quoted and explained, *G.*, p. 162. — ἡγούμενη; as the sentence becomes prolonged and complicated by the introduction of a second hypothesis, the construction introduced with ἐνθυμουμένῳ is changed by putting in the finite verb for the sake of perspicuity. — μέν, *εἰ*; transposed by Rauchenstein on logical grounds. — εἰη πεπεισμένος, *G.*, 18, 1, and Note. — ὁμοίως, "all the same," i. e. as if I made no effort to escape.

16. — ἔφευγον, "I took to flight," *H.*, 702. — τῇ αὐλείᾳ θύρᾳ, the street door, strictly, "the court door," because giving access to the αὐλή or inner court. — τριῶν δὲ θυρῶν οὕσων, "although there were three doors," viz. (1) the door leading back from the men's part of the house (ἀνδρωνίτις) to the women's part (γυναικωνίτις). This door was called μέσαντος θύρα, as between the two courts or αὐλαί; (2) the door leading from the rear of the house into the garden (κήπος), and called κηπαία θύρα; (3) a door or gate leading from the garden into a street. — Ἀρχένεω, derived from ἀρχω and ναῦς, an appropriate name for a "ship-master." — εἰς ἄστυ, for Archeneus lived in Piræus. — ἀπαγάγοι, *G.*, 21, 2, (*a*).

17. — Μέγαράδε, *G.*, 61. *H.*, 203. Megara was about 24 miles, according to Procopius, west of Athens. Modern travellers reckon it eight hours.

— ἐπ' ἐκείνων may be construed with an implied παραγγέλλεσθαι to be supplied with εἰθισμένον: translate, "sent to Polemarchus the order customarily issued by them." — πίνειν, H., 766. — πρὶν εἰπεῖν, G., 106, 2. πρὶν and πρότερον, like our *before*, do not necessarily imply the realization of the following idea. — δι' ἅτινα. The indefiniteness of the relative transfers itself to the antecedent, though this is specialized by the article; translate, "before informing him of any cause for which he was going to die"; literally, "the cause for whichsoever." — πολλοὺ ἐδέχθη, H., 575, a.

18. — ἀπεφέρτε, compare the imperfect with the aorist εἶσαν. — ἡμῖν, G., 184, 4. H., 598. — μισθωσάμενοι προΐθηντο, both causative, H., 689, b. The body was customarily laid out (προτίθημι) on a bed, after having been washed, anointed with perfumed oil, crowned with flowers, and arrayed in as handsome a robe, usually white, as the family could afford. A pillow (προσκεφάλαιον) supported the head and back. On the day after the πρόθεσις, early in the morning, before sunrise, the corpse was carried out (ἐκφέρω) for the last rites, and either interred or burned. See further Smith's *Dict. Antiq. art. Funus*. — ἐτυχεν, supply ἔχων.

19. — ᾤοντο κτήσεσθαι, G., 23, 2, N. 3. οἶομαι here, as occasionally elsewhere = ἐλπίζω. — εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, G., 77, 2, N. 2. H., 256. — λαβὼν...ἀπέδωσαν, G., 19, N. 4. — εἰς τσαύτην...ἀφίκοντο; after this we should have the *result* expressed, as usual, by ὥστε, but for the interposition of the comment καὶ...ἐποιήσαντο, which requires a change of construction. — ὅτε τὸ πρότον, "as soon as."

The orator now briefly *comments upon his narrative* to bring out the full atrocity of the facts: (1) as contrasted with the meritorious character of the sufferers, § 20; (2) as repeated in numerous similar outrages, § 21; (3) and as followed by a shameless lack of compunction on the part of the criminals, § 22; who, however, can show nothing to disprove the charge of wanton lawlessness, § 23.

20. — ἐλέου, G., 171. H., 574, c. — ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἄν, G., 42, 3, N. 2. — ἀδικημάτων, H., 566. — πάσας, Rauchenstein adds μέν. — χορηγίας, Lysias was a μέτοικος, and the principal liturgy (see *General Notes*, 5 & 7) mentioned as performed by such was the choregia at the Lenææ. — εἰσφοράς, see *General Note*, 8. — λυσαμένους, the active voice means to release on receipt of ransom; the middle (causative, H., 689, b), to make one do this, i. e. to release by payment of ransom. This was accounted a meritorious act of humanity, or φιλανθρωπία. — οὐχ ὁμοίως, i. e. quite differently, an instance of the rhetorical figure *litotes*, or the assertion of a fact by the denial of the contrary. — ἐπολιτεύοντο, H., 690, a.

21. — ἀτάφους; as it was supposed that the departed spirit was not at rest till the body had been buried, the neglect of the rites of burial was considered a great inhumanity. — ἀτίμους [τῆς πόλεως], G., 180, 2, N. 1.

H., 584, b, fine print. See *General Note* to Or. XXV. 3; *Atimía*. — *θυγατέρας*; wealthy citizens not infrequently gave marriage portions to poor maidens. *Lysias*, XIX., § 59: *ἐν τοῖσιν καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖσι τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποροῦσι συνεξέδωκε θυγατέρας καὶ ἀδελφάς*. The spoliations and executions of the Thirty had prevented many from portioning their own daughters, or those of neighbors.

22. — *ἐγὼ δ'*, emphatic. — *ἔβουλόμην ἄν*, G., 226, 2, and examples, H., 752. But *ἄν* might be omitted, G., 49, 2, Note 3, (c). — *οὐκ ἐλάχιστον*, a *lilotes*, H., 665, a; see *note* on *οὐχ ὁμολοῶ*, § 20.

23. — *τοιαῦτα*, translate: "but now neither as regards the city nor me can they show such things as they allege"; literally, "such things do not exist for them."

24. — The facts, as now narrated and commented on, the orator proceeds to *establish* by an interrogation of the defendant, § 25, who was obliged to take the stand and answer. See *General Note*, XVI. 8. — *ἀναβιβασάμενος... ἐρώσθαι*, translate, "I wish to put him on the stand, and question him." — *ἀσεβές*, "sinful," as intercourse with a polluted person. — *εἶναι*, more emphatic than *ἂν εἶναι*. — *πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦτον*, supply *διαλέγεσθαι*. — *δοῖον καὶ εὐσεβές*; "a sacred and pious thing": *δοῖος*, says *Trench*, denotes fidelity to the eternal sanctities, *εὐσεβής* denotes piety, both towards God and in the fulfilment of human relations. — *ἀνάβηθι*, "step up." — *ἀποκρίναι*; distinguish different forms of this word by different accents, H., 367, R. e. — *ἐρωτᾷ*, G., 61, 3. As distinguished from its synonyme *αἰτέω*, used in § 18, *ἐρωτᾷ* means to ask a *question*, while *αἰτέω* means to make a *request*.

25. — *ἀπήγγαγες*, contrast with the tense of the answer, *ἐποίησαν*. See also XXV., § 15, *ἀπαχθὲς*, and *note*. — *ἡ οὖν*, G., 29, N. H., 104, a. — *ἵνα ἀποθάνωμεν*: in deciding what verb is to be supplied before *ἵνα*, observe that *ἐλέγες ἵνα* is not Attic Greek (G., 45, N. 5, b), but *ἀντέλεγες* as a verb of striving may govern a final clause, as in § 26. As Eratosthenes was claiming to have opposed the death of Polemarchus, and yet had arrested him, *Lysias* touches his inconsistency with the satirical question, whether it was their not dying or their dying that he had opposed. — *Ἡγούμενος*, G., 109, 4, agrees with the subject of the implied *ἀντέλεγες*.

From this examination the orator now keenly draws *proof of his charge*, §§ 26–36, showing, (1) the defendant's claim as the advocate of lenity is confuted by his conduct in making the arrest, § 26. (2) His allegation of constraint is not only false, but improbable, § 27. (3) It is absurd to let the members of a ring like the Thirty excuse themselves at each other's expense, § 28. (4) This would leave no responsibility anywhere, § 29. (5) The defendant's animus is clear from the fact of the arrest on the street, an unnecessary act of tyranny, § 30. (6) Especially since it was not the act of an inferior, but of a superior, who could have avoided the act had

he chosen, § 31. (7) Who in this case could easily have saved the victim by timely information, § 32. (8) Whose acts must therefore weigh more with the jury than his unsupported assertion, § 33. (9) The argument on the evidence concludes with a repeated attack on the defendant's veracity, § 34. And (10) the orator puts this part of the case to the jury with a reminder of the importance of their verdict as a precedent, § 35, and with an appeal to a previous decision in which righteous public indignation had prevailed, § 36.

26. — Εἰτ', "then," indignantly. — *συνελάμβανες*, the imperfect, on account of the preceding *ἀντέλεγες*, instead of the momentary *συνέλαβες*, because the orator, to mark more strongly the inconsistency of the two actions, represents them as cotemporaneous, H., 701. — *ἀντιλέγειν φῆς*, G., 15, 3; the infinitive contains the prominent idea. Notice the inverted order in which the contrasted verbs *ἀντιλέγειν* and *ἀπήγαγες* are made to stand in their respective clauses for emphasis.

27. — *τοῦτο* is in apposition with the clause *ὡς αὐτῷ προσετάχθη*. — *δὴ πού*, "I imagine," H., 852, 5. — *ἐν τοῖς μετοίκοις*, "in the case of metœci." — *ἐλάμβανον*, the imperfect is here used to deny a past intention, G., 11, N. 4. H., 702. — *τῷ* = *τίνι*. — *ὅστις*, "one who." — *οἷς*, G., 153, with Notes 1 and 2. H., 808, 2, and 810 with R. a.

28. — *ἀν...ἀναφέρωσι*, *ἀν*, not *ἄν*, G., 50, 1. — *πῶς...ἀποδέχεσθαι*, G., 50, 1, R. 1. — *ὑμᾶς εἰκός* (transposed by Rauchenstein), emphasizes *ὑμᾶς*.

29. — *αὐτῆς*, "than it," a *constructio ad sensum*, as though the government of the Thirty had been already mentioned. — *ἐφ' ἧς*, referring to the *ἀρχὴ λυχυρότερα*. — *παρὰ τοῦ* = *παρὰ τίνος*. — *καὶ λήψεσθε*; *καὶ* in such connections, says Arnold, may be translated by "at all," or "possibly." — *εἴπερ ἐξέσται*, G., 49, 1, N. 3.

30. — *καὶ μὲν δὴ*; H., 851, a. *δὴ* calls attention to the important fact mentioned in § 16, that Polemarchus was arrested on the street: translate, "and you will observe, that," etc. — *κατὰ τὰ τούτοις*, so Cobet, with others, reads for *καὶ τὰ τ.*, in order to avoid a *zeugma* in *σώζειν*, which (using *καὶ*) would have to be understood differently with its two accusatives. — *τούτοις*, G., 188, 3. H., 600. — *παρόν*, G., 278, 2. H., 792, a. — *πάντων...δοιοι*; *δοιοι* rather than *οἱ* is the proper relative after *πάντες*. Reference is here made to those citizens whom the Thirty compelled to aid in illegal acts: see *Introd.* Socrates alone had dared to brave the wrath of the Thirty by refusing compliance with such requisitions. — *ὀργίξεσθε*; Francken considers *ὀργίξεσθε* preferable.

31. — *καίτοι*, see XVI., § 5 and *note*. — *διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν*, "in order to save themselves." — *κίνδυνος...γενέσθαι*, translate: "It would have been dangerous for them, if sent, not to go, and if they had made an arrest, to deny the fact." *ἦν* for *ἂν ἦν*, G., 49, 2, N. 3, (a). *μὴ ἐλθεῖν*,



H., 837. — **ἐξάρνοις**, predicate after **γενέσθαι**, in agreement with **καταλαβούσιν**. See **λέγοντι**, § 1, and *note*. "When the omitted subject of the infinitive stands with the preceding verb only as an immediate or remote object, the adjuncts connected with the infinitive must in like manner stand in *that oblique case* in which their subject thus stands as object." *Buttmann's Gr.*, § 142, 2, (b). — **ταῦτα**, "these assertions." — **εἶχεν**, "would have had"; **ἄν** may be supplied — **βουλομένων**, *G.*, 109, 6.

32. — **χρῆν...γενέσθαι**, quoted and explained, *G.*, p. 100. — **γενέσθαι...συλλαμβάνειν**; observe the distinction between the present and the aorist of the infinitive, *G.*, 15, 1, R., and 23, 1. — **γυγνομένοις**, distinguish from **γενομένους**.

33. — **τούτοις**, the court. — **τὴν ψήφον**, see *General Note*, 3, *Dicast.* — **ἃ ἴσασι γεγενημένα**, construed as object of **λαμβάνοντας**. — **λεγόμενων**, i. e. in the conclave of the Thirty. — **τεκμήρια**, accusative in apposition to the relative clause. — **παρεῖναι**, another odious feature of the government of the Thirty; under the democracy publicity was characteristic of all official proceedings. — **παρ' αὐτοῖς**, "by ourselves," or, "at home"; a grim play upon words suggested by the preceding **παρεῖναι**. For the pronoun, *G.*, 146, N. 2. H., 672, a. — **πάντα τὰ κακά**, "all the evils," i. e. under which the city has suffered. Compare with **πάντα κακά**, § 57, "all evils," absolutely so. — **πάντα τὰγαθά**, "all the good things," i. e. that they allege.

34. — **τοῦτο**, i. e. **ἀντειπεῖν σε**. — **συνειπών**, *G.*, 226. H., 751. Notice the inverted arrangement, which here brings together the antithetical words **συνειπών** and **ἀντειπεῖν**, and compare *note* on **ἀντιλέγειν**, § 26. — **φέρε**, interjectional, *G.*, 84, N. 1. — **τί ἄν**, *G.*, 42, N. 2. Rauchenstein takes the point of the following appeal to be, that even if the brothers or sons of Eratosthenes were on the jury, they could not acquit him, so compromised is he by his own admissions. Others, as Francken, less correctly, it seems, refer **αὐτοῦ** to Polemarchus. The imperfects **ἐτυγχάνετε** and **ἀπεψηφίζεσθε**, referring to present time, are to be preferred, with Kayser, to the aorists of the common text. See *G.*, 49, 2. With **ἀπεψηφίζεσθε** supply **ἄν**, from **τί ἄν**, above. What is its protasis? — **ἄδικος συλλαβεῖν**, the orator strains a point here, as Eratosthenes evidently referred the **ἄδικα**, § 25, only to the decree of death.

- 35. — **καὶ μὲν δὴ**, see the same in § 30, and *note*. — **ἀπίσιν**, *G.*, 200. N. 3. H., 699, a. — **ἐξαμάρτυσιν**, *G.*, 20, N. 1, last part, and 62. H., 760, a. — **ὃν ἐφίενται**, *G.*, 171, 2. H., 576. *Crosby, Gr.*, 373, 2, remarks on "the ease with which verbs of motion pass into those of simple effort and desire. Thus *ἵεμαι*, and, more commonly, *ἐφίεμαι*, to send one's self to, to rush to, to strive for, to seek, to desire." — **ὅμιν**, *G.*, 186. H., 603. A powerful argument for punishing traitors, if their impunity involves the dilemma, that they must either be tyrants over the loyal, or partners in

privilege with them. — εἰ...ἀφῆσουσιν, *G.*, 50, 1, N. 1. — ἡ σου, the enclitic σου is used, says Arnold, "when anything is assumed in a half-questioning way, that the speaker may build something on the *assent* of the person appealed to." It answers to our *I imagine*, or *I suppose*. — κηδομένους, a conjectural reading of Rauchenstein. Frohberger reads τιμωρούστας; Cobet, τιμωρουμένους.

36. — οὐκ οὖν δανέν, supply *ἀν ἡν*, *G.*, 49, 2, N. 2. — ναυμαχοῦντες, off the Arginusæ islands, about fourteen miles southeast of Mytilene in Lesbos, B. C. 406. In this, the greatest naval battle of the war, the Lacedæmonians lost seventy-seven vessels, or more than half their fleet. — τοὺς ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης, about a thousand men, according to Grote, were left to perish on the twenty-five Athenian vessels that were disabled in the action. — θανάτῳ ἐξημώσατε, six were thus dealt with. Grote's opinion upon the whole case is, that the generals were guilty of inhuman neglect, but that the overruling of constitutional provisions, in order to force through the assembly the decree of condemnation, was as discreditable to the Athenians as it was exceptional in their history. See Grote's *History*, VIII. 185–190, 205, 208–210. Curtius says, that if any one was to blame for the death of the wrecked, Theramenes was the guilty man; yet he took advantage of the opportunity for his party purposes, to requite the kindness shown him by the generals, in abstaining from blaming him in their despatches, by coming forward as their accuser. *Hist.*, III. p. 539. It was a difficult and delicate task for Lysias to turn an unconstitutional act to account as a precedent, but he does it skilfully. Siding so far with that class of his hearers who had justified the generals as to adopt their principal argument, ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες, and then propitiating the other party by the phrase χρῆναι...λαβεῖν, which veils the irregularity of their proceeding, he seems to press the argument from consistency fairly enough: "Would it not be strange to have executed victorious commanders, and not these traitors?" — θανάτῳ, *G.*, 188. H., 607. — ἀπερῇ, H., 611. — ἰδιῶται, acting as members of the oligarchical clubs. — ἐποίησαν ἡττηθῆναι, *G.*, 260. H., 764, b. Grote says of the disaster of Ægospotami, "It was the general belief afterwards, not merely at Athens, but seemingly in other parts of Greece also, that the Athenian fleet was sold to perdition by the treason of some of its own commanders. . . . Indeed, we may add that the utter impotence and inertness of the numerous Athenian fleet during the whole summer of 405 B. C. conspire to suggest a similar explanation." (*Hist.*, VIII. 220, 221.) "Athens," says Curtius, "fell by her own hand. . . . Party intrigues delivered into the hands of the foe the last fleet of the city, and in the end the city herself. The victory which terminated the war was a victory of treason." (*Hist.*, III. 581.) — κατέστησαν, see the same, § 5, *note*. — ἔκοντες agrees with the subject of the leading verb, where we should make

it agree with the subject of the dependent ἀποκτινύναι. For the tense of the infinitive, compare ἀντιλέγειν φής, § 26, and see G., 15, 3. — οὐκ ἄρα χρῆ; for greater energy this fresh interrogative breaks up the hypothetical interrogative construction, which would normally end, αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ταῖς ἐσχάταις ζημίαις οὐ (not μή, H., 842) κολάσετε; οὐ κολάσετε = ἀποψηφίσεσθε. H., 886. In the sequel, however, “the sons, even of such among the Thirty as did not return, were allowed to remain at Athens, and enjoy their rights of citizens unmolested; a moderation rare in Grecian political warfare.” (Grote, *Hist.*, VIII. 294.)

37. — Here begins the second and larger part of the oration. The orator passes (observe the transition from τῷ φεύγοντι to παρ’ αὐτῶν) from the *specific accusation of murder* to a *general arraignment* of Eratosthenes as responsible for the *sum of outrages perpetrated* by the ring of usurpers to which he belonged. See Analysis.

The course of thought from this point to § 62 is as follows: The accusation now preferred expresses but a fraction of the defendant's guilt, as the associate τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν, § 37. Not even the usual subterfuge, the plea of past merits, can avail, § 38, culprits, whose guilt, as stated in §§ 39, 40, is so enormous, that to defend them argues equal guilt, § 41; for the recent outrages are but the conclusion of a long career of iniquity, § 42. To substantiate this assertion, the orator goes into a review of the political career of the defendant, and brings out its salient points to exhibit him as from first to last an enemy of the democratical constitution and of the interests of his country, viz. (1) as an agent of the first revolution in the time of the Four Hundred, § 42; (2) as a member of the usurping directory of the Five Ephors, §§ 43–47; (3) as one of the Thirty Tyrants, §§ 48–53; (4) as a supporter of the Ten, §§ 54–61.

ἤξιουν, “used to think” (and still think). — μέχρι γὰρ τούτου, “(only) so far.” — θανάτου, observe the emphatic position. — τῷ φεύγοντι construe with εἰργάσθαι. — ταύτην, see ταύτην and note, XXV., § 13. — δίκην δύνανται δύνανται’ ἄν, observe the alliteration.

38. — οὐ...προσήκει, = “for, observe, he has a right to do not even this.” The criticism, περ...ἐστίν, has a satirical point. See XVI., § 9. — λέγοντες...ἐξαπατῶσιν, by anacoluthon for λέγοντας ἐξαπατῶν, in order to assert the fact more positively than by the infinitive.

39. — ἐπεὶ, used elliptically = “since [if they have such a record] bid him,” etc. ἐπεὶ thus used = γάρ. — ἀποδείξαι, see note on ἀπόκρυναι, § 24. — ἀπέκταναν, 1,500, it was said, and without trial. — παρέδωκαν, the whole navy except twelve ships, which Lysander conceded the Athenians as an act of grace. — οἶαν τὴν ὑμετέραν, a brachylogy (H., 881) for οἶα ἦν ἡ ὑμετέρα, ἦν, H., 816.

40. — ἀλλὰ γάρ, elliptical = “but [how would such questions confound

him !] for," H., 870, a and d. The construction with  $\eta$  could have continued as in § 39, but the orator is kindled by these hateful reminiscences, and breaks into a more vehement style. — *πολεμίων*, G., 174. H., 580, a. — *ἀφελοντο*; for an account of the manœuvre by which the Thirty disarmed the citizens, except their own adherents, see Xen. *Hell.*, II. 3, 18–20, Goodwin's *Gr. Reader*, p. 67, and Grote, *Hist.*, VIII. 247. — *οἱ...κατέσκαψαν*, brachylogy for *οἱ...τείχη ην, ἀ κατέσκαψαν*; Rauchenstein and Cobet read *οἱ τὰ τῆς*; the Long Walls demolished after the capture of Athens extended southwest from Athens to Piræus. They were designed to secure the maritime power of Athens by giving free communication at all times with her harbors. They were forty stadia (about four and three fifths miles) in length, and some twelve or more feet thick. The space between them, five hundred and fifty feet in width, was occupied by houses on both sides of a carriage road. The northernmost wall was built B. C. 457 and 456; the other at a subsequent period prior to 431. The wall of Piræus was built, prior to 471, under Themistocles. It was sixty stadia in circumference (about six and nine tenths miles), thirty feet in height, and sixteen feet thick, all of squared stones cramped with metal. — *οἷτινες*, "men who," H., 681, b. See *δοτις*, XXV., § 17, and *note*. — *φρούρια*, fortified places, like Cænœ, northwest, Decelea, northeast, and Sunium, southeast of the city, are probably referred to, inclusively with the fortified harbors and the city itself. — *οὐδὲ...Δακεδαμονίων*, see § 70. — *πριεῖλον*, distinguish the idea of time in this tense from that in *ἐνόμισον*.

41. — *πολλὰς οὖν θανάτους*, G., 30, 1, N. 1. — *τόλμης*, G., 173. H., 577. — *αὐτοῦ*, according to Francken's conjecture, instead of *αὐτῶν*, as the following section refers specially to Eratosthenes. — *πλήν*, H., 626, R. r. — *ἐνθυμηθῶ*, G., 62, and Rem., with 20, N. 1. — *πάντα τὰ κακά*, "all the evils" (that have been done); see *note* on the same, § 33.

42. — *ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων*: in the year 411, while a large Athenian armament was assembled at Samos, which had become the headquarters of the fleet, and the base of operations for the remainder of the war, the machinations of Pisander and others of the officers, at the instance of Alcibiades, effected a brief revolution in Athens, by which the democratical constitution was subverted, a century after its institution by Clisthenes, and an oligarchy was set up. This "temporary calamity, which so nearly brought Athens to absolute ruin, called the Oligarchy of Four Hundred," lasted from February or March to July, 411. Says Grote: "It was only by a sort of miracle—or rather by the incredible backwardness and stupidity of her foreign enemies—that Athens escaped alive from this nefarious aggression of her own ablest and wealthiest citizens." See *Hist.*, VIII. 7–83. — *καθιστάς*, G., 10, N. 2. Contemporaneously, it would seem, with the oligarchical machinations at Samos and Athens, Eratosthenes and

others, while on service at the Hellespont, had endeavored to gain their squadron to the service of the revolutionary party, but, not succeeding, had been obliged to flee. — *τριήραρχος*, see *General Note*, 6. Rauchenstein takes the words *τριήραρχος...ναῦν* as an imputation of unlawful conduct. Perhaps rather the orator intimates how thoroughly even then Eratosthenes was repudiated, not only by the fleet, but even by his own crew. Here the full force of the οὐ γὰρ νῦν *πρώτων* appears. After Eratosthenes's part in that notorious conspiracy of eight years before, those who now speak *ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ*, § 41, cannot be excused as ignorant of his real character, but are as bad as he. — οὐδέν, G., 160, 2. H., 848, a.

43. — *παρήσω*; assuming it to be of a piece with things before and after. — *ἡ ναυμαχία*; the affair of *Ægospotami* was not so much of a battle as a surprise, the crews of nearly the whole fleet being ashore and dispersed. — *ὅθεν...ἦρξαν*, explanatory of the clause *πέντε...ἐταίρων*. — *ἑφόροι*, see *Introd.* — *κατέστησαν ὑπὸ*: "Many verbs of the active form in which the idea of *suffering, being affected*, is predominant, may be construed wholly like passives, i. e. with *ὑπὸ* and the genitive. They then serve to supply the place of less usual passives." *Buttmann's Gr.*, § 134, 2. — *ἐταίρων*, these *ἐταῖροι* were members of *ἐταρεία*, or clubs. These clubs, organized for party purposes, had kept alive the faction which had won a brief triumph in the ascendancy of the Four Hundred, watching for the opportunity of another revolution. — *συναγωγαί*; in this capacity they would hold meetings of the citizens and address them in favor of an oligarchical constitution. — *Κριτίας*: it was a hard blow at Eratosthenes merely to couple with his a name so hateful to most Athenians as that of Critias. "*Noscitur a sociis.*" This man, well-born and rich, a pupil of Socrates, and possessed of some literary culture, as well as decided political ability, was cursed with "not merely an unmeasured and unprincipled lust of power, but also a rancorous impulse toward spoliation and bloodshed, which outran even his ambition, and ultimately ruined both his party and himself." Grote, *Hist.*, VIII. 234. Curtius characterizes him as "a literary pretender, whom all his culture served morally to deteriorate," and "a criminal, who at last shrank from no act however vile and base." *Hist.*, III. p. 575.

44. — *φυλάρχος*; these regularly commanded the cavalry. The cavalry, as a class, comprised the wealthiest men at Athens, and remained, as a class, staunch adherents of the Thirty through thick and thin. See XVI., § 6, with *Introd.*, and *General Note*, 1. — *παρήγγελλον*, i. e. to their various partisans. The aorist *κατέστησαν* denotes a single act, the imperfect *παρήγγελλον* a repeated act. Is this *κατέστησαν* the first, or the second aorist? — *ψηφιεῖσθε...ἔσεσθε*, G., 45 and Rem. — *πολλῶν*, supply *ἀγαθῶν*.

45. — *τοῦτο...ἡπίεσταντο*, "for of this they were especially aware." — *ἔσονται*, compare *δεήσει* and *νολέ*, XVI., § 15. — *πραττόντων*, supply *ὑμῶν*,

G., 110, N. 2. H., 791, a. — *κακῶν*, construe with *ἀπαλλαγῆναι* — *ἐνθυμήσασθαι*, G., 27, N. 1.

46. — *ἐφόρων*, H., 572. Compare *τῆς πρώτης*, and *Note*, XVI., § 15. — *Ἐρατοσθένους ἀκούσαντας*, not, "who heard E.," but "who heard [it] from E." G., 171, 2, N. 1. H., 576, a.

47. — Observe the repeated imperfect in this section, G., 49, 2. R. (α), (b). — *αὐτῶν*, i. e. their leaders. — *ἐκόλαζον*, G., 200, N. 2. H., 702. — *ἔρκους*, whence they were called *συνωμόται*, § 43. — *ἐλίσσωφρόνουν*, repeated with a purpose. — *ἐπὶ* here denotes the condition, H., 640, c. *ἐπὶ...κακοῖς*, = "to the disadvantage of." — *πιστοῦς*, "binding." — *παρέβαιον*; the thrice-repeated *ἄν* is, of course, implied here. — *τοσαῦτα*, "thus much," nearly equivalent, in such connections, to "no more." — *κάλε*, speaking to an officer of the court.

48. — *ἀρχήν*, i. e. that of the Thirty. — *ἀγαθοῦ*, neuter gender, G., 170, 2. H., 574, a. — *ἐχρήν* [*ἄν*], quoted and explained, G., p. 100. Compare note on *χρήν*, § 32. Frohberger plausibly conjectures that this suspicious *ἄν* should be *αὐτόν*. — *βουλῇ*; on the subserviency of this packed senate, see *Introd.* — *μηνυτήν*, satirically said, as informers were encouraged by the Thirty. — *εἰσαγγελῶν*, see note on *δίκη*, XVI., § 12. — *εἰεν...μηνύουσιν*; for the variation, see G., 247, N. 1. H., 734, b. — *Βάτραχος*, "Frog," a fit name for such a wretch, whom Lysias, VI., § 45, styles *ὁ γοῦν πάντων πονηρότατος Βάτραχος πλὴν τούτου*. He came from Oreus in Eubœa. After the restoration of the constitution, he did not dare to reside in Athens under the amnesty, but emigrated.

49. — *καὶ μὲν δὴ*, see the same, § 30, and *note*. — *ὑσοί*; mark the distinction between this definite relative and the following indefinite *ὁπόσοι*, the same as in Latin between *quot* and *quotquot*. The change from the definite to the indefinite intimates that while it is quite clearly ascertained who were ill-disposed, it is very indefinitely known if any were well-minded. — *οὐδὲν ἔλαττον εἶχον*, a *litotes*, equivalent to "profited." See *οὐχ ὁμοίως*, § 20, and *note*. — *σιωπῶντες*, "if silent," G., 277, 4. H., 789, e. — *ἕτεροι*, "other members" [of the party]. *Buttmann*, *Gr.*, § 127, 10, remarks: "Ἄλλος without the article is the Lat. *alius*, another; *ἕτερος* without the article has the same meaning with a stronger expression of difference," etc. The orator's idea is, the silent partners shared the profit of those outrages with the active partners, and must therefore share the guilt. — *ὧν*, governed by *μεῖζω*. The relative clause *ὧν...πόλει* stands in the relation of an accusative to the preceding participles, H., 810. — *οἷόν τ' ἦν*, supply *ἄν*, G., 49, 2, N. 3, (α). What is the suppressed protasis? G., 52, 2. — *εὖνολοι φασιν εἶναι*, "say that they were well disposed," i. e. during those evil times. G., 203, N. 1.

50. — *ὥπως...φανήσεται*, touches the inconsistency of E.'s plea with the

claim ἀνέλεγον advanced in § 25. Translate: "I am afraid then he will not appear opposing," etc. *G.*, 46, N. 4. *H.*, 756, a. — εἰ δὲ μή, "otherwise," i. e. but if he opposed them, as previously claimed. *G.*, 52, N. 2. *H.*, 754, b, *fine print.* — ἐνταυθοί, a more emphatic form of ἐνταῦθα, formed, says *Buttmann, Gr.*, § 116, 8, by adding to ἐνταῦθα the demonstrative *ι*, giving both ἐνταυθί and the more common ἐνταυθοί. — δῆλος ἔσται ὅτι; a blending of two constructions, the impersonal δῆλον ὅτι with a clause (as in *XVI.*, § 11) and the personal δῆλος ὥς (see *XII.*, § 90) with a participle, as in *G.*, 113, N. 1. — ἐναντιούμενος, *G.*, 109, 6. The following sentence intimates that he sided with Theramenes as against Critias.

51. — ὡς ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα...παραστήσω, "as I will prove in both of these respects." — καί here = *aique*, "and I will also show," etc. — γιγνομένης, *G.*, 16, 2. — ὁπότεροι [μόνοι]: if Reiske's conjectural *μόνοι* be accepted, then the sense is, "which of the two parties — i. e. among the oligarchs — exclusively."

52. — καὶ γάρ, *H.*, 870, d. — κάλλιον [ἀν] ἦν; there is no good reason for objecting to *ἀν*, though it is not necessary. See note on κίνδυνος γάρ ἦν, § 31. — ἀνδρὶ ἀρχοντι: "The Greeks often connect with those personal appellations which denote an occupation or character (as *herdsman, judge*, etc.) the words *άνήρ* and *άνθρωπος* in the manner of adjectives, whenever those are to be taken as referring to personal individuals, and not as mere appellatives." *Buttmann, Gr.*, § 123, N. 6. *άνήρ ἀρχων* = a man that is a ruler; where we should say, simply, a ruler. Compare *Matthew xx. 1*, *άνθρώπῳ οἰκοδεσπότῃ*, *A. V.*, "a man that is a householder." — Θρασυβόλου: this noble patriot, well named the "Bold Counsellor" (*θρασύς* — *βουλή*), pitted himself with a puny force against tyranny in the height of its power. To him was chiefly due, not merely the restoration of Athenian liberty, but its healthful working afterwards. Says Grote: "The feature which stands yet more eminent in his character — a feature infinitely rare in the Grecian character generally — is, that the energy of a successful leader was combined with complete absence both of vindictive antipathies for the past, and of overbearing ambition for himself." *Hist.*, IX. 367. — Φυλῆν, see *Introd.*; also *XVI.*, § 4, and *note.* — ἐπιδεδέσθαι...εὐνοίαν: such good-will was shown to Thrasylbulus by those that were discontented with the government of the Thirty, that, in the few days which intervened between his occupation of Phyle and his seizure of Piræus, his force swelled, according to Xenophon, from seventy men to one thousand. — τοὺς ἐπὶ Φυλῇ: on account of the elevated position of Phyle, *ἐπὶ*, "on," was regularly used with it, instead of *ἐν*, "in." — εἰς Σαλαμίνα καὶ Ἐλευσινάδε: in connection with the preceding word, Ἐλευσινάδε = *εἰς Ἐλευσίνα*, gives a pleasing variation both of sound and form. Salamis, on the island of the same name, was situated nearly opposite and west of Piræus, from which it

was separated by the narrow strait where the Greeks, B. C. 480, with 366 vessels, won the famous victory over Xerxes' fleet of more than 1,000. The more ancient Salamis of the Telamonian Ajax was built at the southern end of the island. Eleusis, northwest of Athens on the road to the Isthmus, and a little more than half-way on the road from Athens to Megara (see note on *Μέγαράδε*, § 17), stood on a hill facing the broad bay of Eleusis, which, enclosed on three sides by the shores of Attica, was bounded on the south by the island Salamis opposite Eleusis. It was celebrated for the sanctuary of Demeter, and the Eleusinian mysteries celebrated annually in her honor. For an account of the trick by which the Eleusinians were seized, see Grote, *Hist.*, VIII. 266-268; Xen. *Hell.*, II. 4, 8-10; Goodwin's *Gr. Reader*, p. 77. Compare Lysias, XIII., § 44: *Ἰστε μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος τῶν πολιτῶν κομισθέντας, οἳ οἱ ἦσαν καὶ ὄσοι, καὶ οἷον ὁλέθρων ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀπώλοντο. Ἰστε δὲ τοὺς ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος, ὡς πολλοὶ ταύτῃ τῇ συμφορᾷ ἐχρήσαντο. — αὐτῶν... θάνατον*, G., 173, 2, Note. H., 583, *fine print*. — *κατεψηφίσαντο*: Critias was the master-spirit in this outrage, which is here charged solely on Eratosthenes. In the condemnation of these captives Critias had gone through the form of taking a vote of the Three Thousand (a body of citizens, whom, on the score of their supposed oligarchical sentiments, the Thirty had invested with the political franchise). See XXV., § 22. But where the Three Thousand were assembled to give their verdict, the Lacedæmonian garrison were at hand under arms, and any dissident from the death-sentence, which Critias ordered to be given by open ballot in his presence, would have been put to death. The orator therefore, without alluding to the coerced participants in that crime, many of whom probably were among his hearers, justly treats the act of many as the crime of one.

53. — *ἤλθομεν*: all that Lysias says of his own noble part in the war of liberation is comprised in this modest reference of the plural number. See *Introd.* — *αἱ παραχαῖ*: with this euphemism the orator prudently veils two sharp encounters, the one a surprise of the camp of the Thirty between Phyle and Acharnæ, and the other the battle of Munychia, in which, together, Thrasybulus inflicted a loss of about two hundred slain. Some of the defeated party were doubtless members of the jury. — *οἱ λόγοι*: during the truce which was granted for burying the dead, says Xen. (*Hell.*, II. 4, 19) *προσιόντες ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο*. See especially the speech of the herald Cleocritus, *ib.* 20-23. Goodwin's *Gr. Reader*, p. 80. — *ἔσεσθαι*, "that we should be." — *εἰδείξαμεν*, "showed," i. e. by our acts in the sequel. — *αὐτούς*, i. e. the city party. It does not appear, however, that the force of Thrasybulus, which was quite indifferently armed, was able to do more than to repel the attack made upon them by the Thirty. But they abstained from stripping the slain of their clothing, in token of respect to their countrymen.



54. — οἱ 84, i. e. the forces of the oligarchs. — ἐξέβαλον : the deposed tyrants retired to Eleusis. See *Introd.* — ἀρχοντας...έλοντο, namely, the Ten, "one from each phyle," says Xenophon (*Hell.*, II. 4, 23). On this attempt at a middle way between tyranny and democracy, see Grote, *Hist.*, VIII. 272. — μισέσθαι...φιλέσθαι, see note on ἀπειπεῖν...ἐπιδιπεῖν, § 1. What form of the finite verb does the infinitive here represent? *G.*, 41, 1. The protasis is involved in δικαίως, i. e. δικαίως ἂν ἔχοι, εἰ, κ. τ. λ. *G.*, 52, where see the last example quoted, p. 111.

55. — [ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα γινόμενος] : this is probably a mere gloss which has crept into the text, since Phidon has just been mentioned, § 54, as one of the Thirty. — Λαμπτρέις, of Lamptra ; there were two Attic demes of this name. Upper Lamptra was at the southeast extremity of Mt. Hymettus, three or four miles from the sea, and Lower Lamptra on the coast. Of Epichares and Hippocles little or nothing is known. Grote (*Hist.*, VIII. 271) names Eratosthenes also as one of the Ten. If so, it is hard to see how Lysias could have omitted to make a point of it. Instead of that he limits himself to saying, § 58, that Phidon, as leader of the Ten, pursued the previous policy of Eratosthenes. As the Ten, according to Lysias, were appointed in the supposed interest of a conciliatory policy, and as Eratosthenes is not mentioned among them, the clear implication of Lysias's statements is, either that he was not regarded even by moderate oligarchs as eligible with such an object in view, or, rather, that he was altogether opposed to it. It is clear, however, that Eratosthenes remained in the city after the deposition of the Thirty ; and the aim of this portion of the orator's argument is to represent him as a silent partner in the misgovernment of the Ten. — Χαρίκλεις, characterized by Grote as a "furious and unprincipled politician," *Hist.*, VII. 198. — αὐτοί, an emphatic "they." *G.*, 145. *H.*, 669, b. — τοῖς ἐξ ἄσπεως, *G.*, 188, 5. *H.*, 604. — ἐποίησαν ; distinguish from ἐποίησαντο, *H.*, 690.

56. — οἷς ; Scheibe's reading ; the common text is οἷ, for which Rauchenstein reads ᾧ. — ἐπεδείξαντο, *H.*, 688. — ἐστασίαζον, at the time when they deposed the Thirty. — οὐδέ...ἐλύπουν : compare Xenophon's comment on the execution of the citizens of Salamis and Eleusis : ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἀρεστά καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅσοι τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἐμελεν. *Hell.*, II. 4. 10.

57. — τριάκοντα...ἐργασμένοις καὶ ὑμῖν...πεπονθόσι, an *isocolon* ; compare note on ἀποκτινύναι...ἐποιούντο, § 7. — πάντα κακά, compare note on πάντα τὰ κακά, § 33. — ὑμεῖς δικαίως, supply ἐφείγετε. From the standpoint of either of the extreme parties, the middle course of the Ten appeared in this dilemma of inconsistency. — ἔργων, *H.*, 566. — αἰτίαν λαβόντες, distinguished from αἰτίαν ἔχοντες as λαβεῖν to "get," or "incur," from ἔχειν, "to have."

58. — αἰρεθεῖς, *H.*, 694, c. — διαλλάξει, *G.*, 97, N. 1. — γνέμῃ, *G.*, 188, 1.

H., 611. Lysias's attack on the policy pursued by Phidon had the double aim, first, of representing it as emanating from Eratosthenes, who had pretended to be overruled by his associates in office, and, second, of raising a prejudice against Phidon, in case he appeared, as was probable, in the capacity of an advocate of Eratosthenes, § 85. — τοὺς μὲν κρείττους αὐτῶν, i. e. the majority of the Thirty, then at Eleusis. — δι' ἑμᾶς; for the distinction between the genitive and the accusative after διὰ, see H., 629, c, 630, b. But the accusative is often used with very little apparent distinction from the usual sense of the genitive. Compare διὰ τούτων, § 92. — αὐτούς, a constructio ad sensum, as if the antecedent were Λακεδαιμονίους. — Βοιωτῶν, see note on τῆς πρώτης, XVI., § 15. Occasion for this misrepresentation was given by the support which Thrasýbulus derived from Thebes. — ἔσται; what would be the indirect form? — μάλιστα, emphatic position.

59. — οὐ δυνάμενος; οὐ, not μή, because the participle does not express a condition. So οὐ βουλομένων, below. G., 283, 4. H., 839. — καί = "also." — ἱερῶν ἔμποδόν; a notable instance of the tenacity with which the Spartans adhered to their superstitions in such matters was given by their six days' delay to help the Athenians at Marathon, B. C. 490, in the crisis of the fate of Greece. — καί = "even." — ἑκατὸν τάλαντα; this loan, though contracted by an usurping government to destroy the liberties of the country, was afterwards repaid by the constitutional government. — ἐδανείσατο, H., 689, b. — ἤτήσατο, observe the force of the middle, H., 689.

60. — πάντας, loosely said for παταχόθεν. — πόλεις ἐπάγοντες, the Peloponnesian allies generally. The Boeotians and Corinthians, however, who had previously been intensely anti-Athenian in their policy, declined to co-operate, a remarkable proof, as Grote observes, of the altered feeling with which Athens and Sparta were beginning to be regarded in the other states of Greece. — τελευτῶντες, G., 109, N. 8. H., 788, a, *fine print*. — παρεσκευάζοντο, observe the imperfect as inclusive of the successive acts specified by the preceding tenses. — εἰ μὴ δι'; the complete expression would be, καὶ ἀπώλεσαν ἂν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐκωλύθησαν. G., 52, N. 1. H., 754, a, *fine print*. As to the danger of Athens at the time, and how it was averted, see *Introd.* By the ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς are meant such friends of Athens among the other Greeks as was the wealthy Theban Ismenias, who aided Thrasýbulus's first movement. — λαβόντες, G., 109, 3. — καὶ ἐκείνοις, i. e. the ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ just mentioned. — χάριν ἀποδιδόναι is to show gratitude by some requital, Latin *gratiam referre*, in distinction from χάριν εἶδέναι, or ἔχειν, to feel gratitude, Latin *gratiam habere*.

61. — ὅμως δέ, supply παρέξομαι, H., 883: the witnesses of course were to testify to the acts of Phidon. — ὡς πλείστων, H., 664.

62. — φέρε δὴ, see the same in § 34 and note. — Θηραμένους; on the gen-

eral relevancy of this portion of the argument, see *Introd.* It is to be specially noticed that Theramenes, in his reply before the senate to the impeachment of Critias, declared that he had opposed the seizure of the metœci: ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἓνα ἑκάστον λαβεῖν ἐφασαν χορῆναι, Xen. *Hell.*, II. 3, 40. This lent some color to Eratosthenes's assertions, § 25, that he had been adverse to extreme measures, and rendered it more necessary for the orator to blacken Theramenes's record.

The analysis of §§ 62-80 is as follows: § 62, the orator shows the relevancy of his apparent digression. He is simply refuting Eratosthenes's claim to favor on the score of Theramenes; § 63, he sneers at Eratosthenes's choice of a political guide, taking up with a Theramenes for lack of a Themistocles; § 64, and shows the folly of allowing such malefactors to claim credit as benefactors. Then, § 65, he shows that Theramenes was a leader in setting up the oligarchy of the Four Hundred; next, §§ 66, 67, a base turncoat; more recently, §§ 68-70, the procurer by false pretences of disastrous terms of peace with Sparta; finally, §§ 71-77, responsible for the establishment of the Thirty, and meeting at length, § 78, with deserved retribution. In §§ 79, 80, he concludes the digression with a fresh appeal, upon these facts, for a verdict against Eratosthenes and his partners.

διὰ βραχυτάτων, see δι' ἐλαχίστων, § 3, and *note*. — προσσῆ, "offend," Sauppe's emendation of the common text, παρασῆ, "occur." G., 254. H., 720, b. — ταῦτα, i. e. δι...μετέιχε. — μετέιχε, why not accented μέτειχε? G., 26, N. 1. H., 368, b.

63. — σφόδρ' ἄν...οἶμαι, "I strongly think"; ἄν belongs to προσποιεῖσθαι, G., 42, *Note*. — πολιτευόμενον προσποιεῖσθαι, the participle is the protasis, the infinitive the apodosis; G., 52, 1; 53. What forms of the finite verb do these respectively represent? — ὅποτε καὶ, καὶ here = "even." — ὅπως καθαιρεθήσεται, G., 217. H., 756, dependent on ἐπραττε understood. — οὐ γάρ, said on account of the preceding σφόδρα ἄν οἶμαι. The idea of the orator's irony is: of course Eratosthenes would have been much gladder to co-operate with Themistocles than with Theramenes, for Themistocles was a worthier citizen. — Λακεδαιμονίων; for an account of the stratagem by which Themistocles outwitted the Spartans, and thwarted their mean opposition to the restoration of the walls of Athens, after the expulsion of the Persians, see Grote, *Hist.*, V. 244; Curtius, *Hist.*, II. pp. 361, 362. The contrast which Lysias here draws between Themistocles and Theramenes had been already pointed out by the demagogue Cleomenes. According to Plutarch, *Lysander*, 14, Cleomenes asked Theramenes if he dared to undo the work of Themistocles by delivering to the Lacedæmonians the walls which that patriot had erected against them. To which Theramenes responded, that Themistocles had had the walls built for the preservation of the citizens, and it was for the same purpose that they were

now to be demolished. As Lysias viewed the matter, Themistocles erected the walls to secure the democracy, while Theramenes destroyed them to overthrow the democracy. The exhibition of such a contrast was adapted to arrest the reaction of feeling in favor of Theramenes which the manner of his death had occasioned.

64. — εἰκός ἦν, see the same in XVI., § 5, and *note*. — ἄξιον μὲν γάρ, an implied ἦν follows. — πρᾶττων, *G.*, 16, 2. So συνόντας, below. — ὥσπερ, *G.*, 277, N. 3. — γεγενημένου, the ἐκείνου which we supply here has been attracted into ἐκείνω by συνόντας. *H.*, 791, a. The balanced arrangement of these genitives is noticeable as an elaborate bit of literary finish, viz.:—

ὥσπερ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίου  
 ἄλλ' οὐ μεγάλων κακῶν γεγενημένου.

65. — δε; δεῖς might have been used. See οἷνες, § 40, and *note*. Compare, also, of and οἷνες, XXV., § 18, where, as Frohberger remarks, of denotes the *individuals*, and οἷνες their *class* or *kind*. — δλιγαρχίας, i. e. of the Four Hundred. See *note* on ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων, § 42. — αἰνιωτάτος; this seems exaggerated. Theramenes took an active part, but Alcibiades and Pisander seem to have been αἰνιωτάτοι. It is quite clear that the revolution received the first effective impulse from a proposition of Alcibiades to the officers of the Athenian armament at Samos, engaging, on condition of the formation of an oligarchical government, to secure to Athens the Persian alliance. See Grote, *Hist.*, VIII. 6 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Hist.*, III. p. 450. Pisander was ostensibly the chief agent in the execution of the plan, and the soul of the movement at Athens was Antiphon, see § 67, and *note*. Critias, in impeaching Theramenes before the senate, merely says of his revolutionary zeal, προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, *Xen. Hell.*, II. 3, 30. — ὁ μὲν πατήρ; Hagnon, a citizen of high standing, adopted Theramenes, who was a native of Ceos. The position of his adoptive father secured to Theramenes a favorable entrance into political life. — τῶν προβούλων; a "Board of Elders," called πρόβουλοι, or "Provisional Councillors," consisting of ten of the older citizens, was appointed, upon the tidings of the defeat of the Sicilian expedition, *B. C.* 413, "to review the expenditure, to suggest all practicable economies, and propose for the future such measures as occasion might seem to require." Grote, *Hist.*, VII. 362. These became promoters of the revolution in 411. By this appointment, as Curtius remarks, the democracy, which since the fall of the Areopagus had been free from all control, was again placed under the supervision of authority. For the case, compare τῶν ἐφόρων, § 46, and *note*. — ταῦτ' ἔπρατταν, compare the same expression in § 51, ταῦτα πράττουσι. — ὑπ' αὐτῶν, i. e. the Four Hundred.

66. — ἕως μὲν ἐπιμάτο, *G.*, 59; 66, 4, *Rem.* — πιστόν, i. e. to the oligar-

chical party. — Πείσανδρον, of Acharnae, a man of much ability and courage, though this latter trait was disputed by his enemies. After the fall of the Four Hundred he was banished, and his property was confiscated. See VII., § 4. Callæschrus was the father of Critias. — αὐτοῦ, G., 175. H., 585. — οὐκ ἐτι... ἀποδοῦναι; the Athenian armament at Samos, when they heard of the revolution at Athens, repudiated the authority of the Four Hundred. See Grote, *Hist.*, VIII. 46, *sqq.* Realizing that this presaged the overthrow of the revolutionists, Theramenes began to disconnect himself from his imperilled party. — Ἀριστοκράτους; in order to maintain themselves against the armament at Samos, the Four Hundred were treasonably plotting to receive a Lacedæmonian force into Piræus, and to accomplish this were constructing a citadel there. Suspecting that design, the tribe of which Aristocrates was taxiarch broke into a mutiny, which spread until, with the concurrence of Theramenes, who had been sent to suppress the mutiny, the obnoxious citadel was demolished. This affair proved a fatal blow to the ascendancy of the Four Hundred. Aristocrates was afterward one of the generals who were put to death for misconduct at the Arginusæ; see note on θανάτῳ ἐξημώσατε, § 36.

67. — Ἀντιφῶντα: "Antiphon, the son of Sophilus, at that time already an advanced sexagenarian, but full of unwearying activity, political experience, and knowledge of human nature; inexhaustible in clever devices, trustworthy and reticent; in intellectual power and influence superior to all his fellow-citizens, and at the same time perfect master of himself." Curtius, *Hist.*, III. p. 461. He "formed a school of oratory, which exercised a deeply felt influence on the development of Attic prose." *Id.*, II. p. 569. This man undertook the chief directorship of the oligarchical movement in Athens during Pisander's absence. By systematic assassination he silenced the popular leaders, extinguished freedom of debate, and so overawed the public mind, that, at length, the sanction of the senate and the assembly was extorted for measures which the majority detested. See Grote, *Hist.*, VIII. pp. 30–41. After the restoration of the democracy, Antiphon and Archeptolemus were impeached by Theramenes for their treasonable negotiations with Sparta, and suffered the doom of traitors. The fate of Antiphon, then sixty-nine years of age, was deserved; but this rattling of Theramenes gained him the nickname of ὁ κόθορνος, or *the Buskin*, fitting either foot equally well, and was used at length by Critias as a pretext for his destruction. Comp. Xen. *Hell.*, II. 3, 30–33; Goodwin's *Gr. Reader*, pp. 69, 70. Curtius says of him that he was "a man of brilliant abilities, eloquent, intelligent, and versatile, endowed with noble natural gifts, but . . . wholly devoid of fixed principle, and was seriously attached neither to the one side nor the other," but ambitious to play the first part himself. *Hist.*, III. pp. 461, 539. — ἀμα... ἀπάλασε, for the isocolon, compare ἀπο-

κτινύναι...ἐποιούντο, § 7. — τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, supply *πίστει*. — In balancing Theramenes's account with history, Curtius remarks: "As no less severe a judge than Aristotle reckons him among the best citizens whom Athens ever possessed, we may be sure that his merit consisted not merely in his having, more than any one else, contributed to frustrate the treasonable efforts of the party which was prepared to proceed to extremities, but principally, in his having, after the overthrow of that party, succeeded in preventing the outbreaks of passion which would have ruined the state," etc. *Hist.*, III. p. 486.

68. — An interval of six and a half years, from the deposition of the Four Hundred, in the summer of 411, to the siege of Athens in the winter of 405–4, occurred between the events mentioned in this section and those in the preceding. In this interval, the orator passes over without mention an instance of Theramenes's faithlessness as glaring as any, in his accusation of the generals who commanded at Arginusæ for the criminal neglect of a duty which had been delegated to him. See *Note* on § 36. — αὐτός, "of his own accord." — σώσειν, *G.*, 27, N. 3. — ἐπέσχετο δέ, "for he promised." — τὰ τεύχη καθελών: for the Lacedæmonians had intimated that the demolition of the Long Walls to the length of ten stadia would be insisted on in the terms of peace. — ταῦτα, an abbreviation for *ὅπως ταῦτα διαπραχθήσονται*: plural, though the antecedent is singular, perhaps with reference to the particulars of his plan; see *note* on ταῦτα, § 14. — αὐτῷ πιστεύειν, emphatic, to trust him.

69. — πρᾶττοσθης...σωτήρια, "taking measures for safety." The particulars are not very definitely known; but see XXV., § 27, *note* on ὤμνυτε. — Ἀρεῶν πάγῃ, see *General Note*, 2. "It would appear that at this period, when revolutionary and conservative measures were indiscriminately applied, the Areopagus, which had only continued to exist as a court for capital cases, was also re-established as a state magistrature, and, as at the time of the Persian wars, invested with extraordinary powers for contributing its share to the preservation of the city." Curtius, *Hist.*, III. p. 564. — ἀντιλεγόντων: no wonder, in view of what Lysias asserts, XIII., § 10: ὁμοῖς εἴλεσθε ἐκείνον πρεσβειτήν αὐτοκράτορα, ὃν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει στρατηγὸν χειροτονηθέντα ἀπεδοκιμάσατε, οὐ νομίζοντες εὖρον εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. Nothing more clearly reveals the desperate condition of besieged Athens, than that the people, catching at the word of such a man, should appoint him their plenipote tiary, without pressing inquiry into his plans.

70. — οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν. Theramenes stayed more than three months with Lysander, who then told him that the ephors, and not he, had power to make peace. When Theramenes came home with this report, the famine had become so intolerable, that he was sent back to make peace on any terms. This was probably his original scheme, as Xenophon intimates:

ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐμελλον, διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σίτον ἅπαντα, ὃ τις λέγοι ὁμολογήσειν. *Hell.*, II. 2. 16. Goodwin's *Gr. Reader*, p. 64. — ἐμνήσθη, "had mentioned," i. e. in the previous negotiations. — ἤλπισε, "had expected." — ἔπαυσε: how does this tense present the idea as compared with ἐπειθεν, § 58? See ἐλεγον, § 6, *note*. Lysias's assertion is corroborated by Xenophon (*Hell.*, II. 2. 22), προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης λέγων ὡς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τεῖχη περιαιρεῖν. — ἀναγκαζόμενος... ἐπαγγελλόμενος, see *note* on ἀπειπεῖν... ἐπιλιπεῖν, § 1. The proof of Lysias's assertion is of course merely circumstantial. How much harder were the conditions that Theramenes brought home, than those which the enemy at first proposed, Lysias states, XIII., § 14: ἦν γὰρ ἀπὲρ μὲν τοῦ ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια τῶν μακρῶν τευχῶν διελεῖν ὅλα τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη κατασκάψαι, ἀπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει εὐρῆσθαι τὰς τε ναῦς παραδοῦναι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος περιελεῖν. Although, in the strife which raged in Greece between oligarchy and democracy, party fury was often stronger than love of country, — so that even Xenophon was found at the battle of Coronea on the side of Sparta against his native Athens, — yet it is altogether improbable that the extreme and most humiliating demands of Sparta were suggested, as Lysias claims, by the Athenian oligarchs themselves. What Cicero says of the contending parties at Rome has its applicability to this case: *Non illi nullam esse rempublicam, sed in ea quæ esset se esse principes; neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere, volunt.* *Or. in Catil.*, III. 10. — ἀποστρεφθήσεσθε... κομίσθε, *G.*, 50, 1, N. 1, 77. See *ἔσσονται*, § 45, and *note*. — ταχέαν, translate as a predicate, *G.*, 142, 3. *H.*, 535, b.

71. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, the forms of the ancient constitution still subsisted, until they should be used to give sanction to the intended change. — ἔως... ἐτηρήθη, *G.*, 19, N. 4 (b), 66, 1. — ὁ λεγόμενος, the common text, for which Rauchenstein reads ὁ ὁμολογημένος. — ὅτι ἐκείνων, i. e. the Spartans. — ἐκ Σάμου. Samos, a large and fruitful island off the coast of Ionia, with a city of the same name fronting the Ionian coast, was the only ally or dependency of Athens which did not submit without resistance to the Lacedæmonians after the affair at Ægospotami. Lysander, after receiving the surrender of Athens, had proceeded to press the siege of Samos, and reduced it about the close of the following summer, B. C. 404. Lysander's return to Athens had been prepared for by putting out of the way the democratical leaders. See *Introd.*

72. τούτων ὑπαρχόντων, "these arrangements being ready." — Φιλοχάρονες καὶ Μιλτιάδου: Rauchenstein regards these as companions of Lysander; Frohberger conjectures, from the names, that they were Athenians who had been sent to summon Lysander. — τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, "the intended assembly." — ῥήτωρ, "a public speaker." In the free political atmosphere

of Athens a professional class flourished, who devoted themselves to politics and public speaking, and were called *ρήτορες*. For different estimates of them, compare Curtius, *Hist.*, III. pp. 90-93, and Grote, *Hist.*, VIII. 42, 43. The same policy of silencing the popular leaders had been tried in the previous revolution. See note on *Ἀντιφῶντα*, § 67. The Thirty, by one of their earlier edicts, even forbade all teaching of "the art of words." Xen. *Mem.*, I. 2, 81: *ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἔγραψε, λόγων τέχνην μὴ διδάσκειν*. — *ἐναντιοῖτο*, G., 216. H., 739.

73. — *τριάκοντα*; these were appointed, nominally, to draw up laws for the future government of the city, and to hold a provisional authority meanwhile. Dracontides, who acted merely as the instrument of others, "a scoundrel on whom repeated sentences had been passed" (Curtius, III. 579), became one of the Thirty. — *ἀπέβαινεν*, "proposed." For the tense, see note on *ἔλεγον*, § 6, and *ἐβάδιζον*, § 8. — *ἡμῶς*, belongs with *ἐθορυβεῖτε*, G., 109, N. 5. — *οὕτω διακείμενοι* refers to the situation as described in §§ 71, 72. — *ὡς οὐ ποιήσονται*, G., 277, N. 2. — *ἐγγινώσκετε*, "you were becoming aware." — *ἐκκλησιάζετε*, H., 315, also augmented *ἡκκληγ-*.

74. — *αὐτῷ μέλοι...θορόβου*, G., 184, 2, N. 1. H., 576, 595, b. — *πολλοὺς*, here predicative. — *δοκοῦντα...λέγοι*; this, in contrast with his former boasts, § 68, would further dispirit the people. *λέγοι* is construed with *ἐπειδὴ*; translate: "and since he spoke the views of Lysander and the Lacedæmonians." — *καὶ ὅτι*, "and particularly that," etc.: *καὶ* here = *atque*. — *παρασπόνδου*, because the walls had not been demolished within the specified time, which had not been long enough. — *ἔχοι*, for this and the following verbs, see the passage commented on in G., p. 163. The reading here followed is that of the common text, for which Rauchenstein and Scheibe both read *ποιήσεθ'* and *κελεύει*.

75. — *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί*, in the language of each of the political parties this was the designation of their own members. — *γινόντες τὴν παρασκευήν*, "having perceived the concerted action." Compare the meaning of the aorist with that of the imperfect, *ἐγγινώσκετε*, § 73. — *ῥχοντο ἀπίοντες*, "took their departure." G., 279, Note.

76. — *παρήγγελλτο*, i. e. by the managers of the meeting. — *ἀπέδεδεξε*, "nominated." — *ἔφοροι*, see § 43, and note. — *καλεῖσιν*, G., 247, N. 1. H., 738. — *παρόντων*, those present were largely of the oligarchical party.

77. — *ἐν τῇ βουλῇ*, when replying before the senate to his impeachment by Critias. Xen. *Hell.*, II. 3, 35-49. Goodwin's *Gr. Reader*, pp. 70-73. Grote, *Hist.*, VIII. 249-252. — *ὅτι...κατέλθουσιν*. In Theramenes's speech, as reported by Xenophon, this point is not touched. — *οὐδὲν φροντισόντων Δ.*, the restoration of the exiles was one of the treaty stipulations. If this article was really the work of Theramenes, it was a point in favor of Lysias's claim that the whole disgraceful treaty was his work. — *πεπραγμέ-*



ων, construe with αἰτιος. — ὅπ' ἐμοῦ, construe with εἰρημένους, H., 885. — τοιούτων τυγχάνοι, "he met such a requital." — αὐτὸς...δεδοκώς, so Scheibe, see αὐτὸς ἐπαγγελάμενος, § 68. Rauchenstein prefers αὐτοῖς.

78. — καί...καί...καί; this accumulation of conjunctions not only suits the cumulative nature of the argument, but adds vehemence to the style, especially in delivery. — γεγενημένου, see γεγενημένου, § 64, and note. — τολμήσουσιν, the indefinite subject, "they," includes specially Eratosthenes. — Θεραμένους; in translating join with γεγενημένου. — δικάως, so far as an act in itself despotic and outrageous may be extenuated by the comment "served him right." With Critias, no doubt, it was a matter of self-preservation to despatch Theramenes, whose desertion of his colleagues in the preceding revolution made it likely that he would not scruple, should occasion serve, to deal with Critias as he had dealt with Antiphon, § 67. — ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, see the same and note, XXV., § 7. — ἦδη...κατέλυσε, G., 19, N. 4, b. Instead of ἦδη Rauchenstein adopts Sauppe's emendation *δὲ*. The statement then becomes contrary to fact. Theramenes did not twice break down the oligarchy, except in a sense which probably did not enter the speaker's mind. He had indeed co-operated to overthrow the Four Hundred. But he broke down the Thirty rather by his death, the manner of which increased the intestine strife within the faction, and gave a fatal shock to its stability. To avoid the difficulty, Cobet further emends by changing κατέλυσε to κατέλυε, "he endeavored to break down." But this is arbitrary. The text as it stands needs no emendation. — ἂν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, supply δίκην ἔδωκεν. G., 212, 3. H., 754. On the protasis involved in δικάως, see note on μισέσθαι, § 54. Theramenes, as the orator claims, should have been punished after the expulsion of the Four Hundred, and again, had he lived, after the deposition of the Thirty. — παρόντων καταφρονῶν...ἀπόντων ἐπιθυμῶν, compare, for the form, ἡγούντο...ἐποιούντο, § 7, and ἀπειπεῖν...ἐπιλιπεῖν, § 1. A sententious description of a restless agitator. — τῷ...χρώμενος, "under the fairest pretence," i. e. of saving the city, § 68; ὀνόματι, i. e. σώσειν, G., 188, N. 2, and 277, 2. H., 607, a, 789, b. — διδάσκαλος, "a prompter."

79. — ἐκεῖνος, "that" long expected. — μαχομένους μὲν...ψηφίζομένους δέ. "μὲν and δέ are often employed also to connect two clauses, of which only the second properly belongs in the connection; while the other is merely inserted in order to heighten by contrast the effect of the second." *Bullmann's Gr.*, § 149, 11. Here δὲ μὴ εἶναι is not said with reference to κρείττους εἶναι, but ἥττους. Accordingly, the μὲν clause is to be translated by "while," or "seeing that," with a finite verb, while δέ remains untranslated. — πολεμίων...ἐχθρῶν, these synonyms correspond respectively to the Latin *hostis* and *inimicus*, the former a foreign or public enemy, the latter a domestic or private one.

80. — *ἄν*, limiting *χάριν*. G., 153, N. 1. H., 810. — *ἴστε*, imperative. See note on *χάριν ἀποδίδναι*, § 60. — *ἄν... ἐργίσηθε*, imperative. G., 173. H., 577. — *ἀποῦσι*, i. e. in Eleusis, see *Introd.* — *μὲν... ἐπιβουλεύετε*, see note on *μαχομένους μὲν*, § 79. — *ἀφῆτε*, G., 86. H., 723, a.

81. — *Κατηγορήται δῆ*. So Bake, Frohberger, Scheibe, and Sauppe, for the MSS. *κατηγορεῖτε δέ*. Also Rauchenstein in earlier editions, whose sixth edition emends to *κατάγνωτε δέ*, with Kayser and others. Translate: "the accusation of Eratosthenes and his friends is now complete." G., 17, 1, and N. 1. G., 173, 2, N.

The analysis of the remainder of the oration is as follows: §§ 81–91, *Comments on the complete case as it stands*. (1) These judicial formalities give an undeserved advantage to the tyrant, § 81, for whom no stretch of severity could be excessive, §§ 82, 83, while any mitigation is unseemly, and the proposal audacious, § 84; which proposal, however, marks the accomplices of the traitors, § 85. (2) These pleaders for the defendant are remarkable as men of doubtful merit and lukewarm patriotism, § 86. (3) The defendant's witnesses also occupy a singular position; they give the court credit for slight discernment, § 87, and suppose it to be unmindful of what has been endured and perpetrated, §§ 88, 89. (4) A square statement of the alternative issues, stripped of all excuse and subterfuge for the friends of the defendant, §§ 90, 91. — *An exhortation to the two classes of which the jury was composed*, §§ 92–98: (1) those of the city, §§ 92–94, and (2) those of the Piræus, §§ 95–98, basing an appeal for their verdict upon a summary statement of the recent and present situation of each respectively. — *The Peroration*: (1) a condensed reiteration of the principal charges, § 99; (2) a reminder to the court of the duty due to those unjustly put to death, § 100. See Analysis.

*οἷς... ἀνόλου*, "to whom he will refer in defence"; *εἰς οὓς* is the more common construction with *ἀναφέρω*. — *ἀπολογίας*, plural, with reference to all the various charges. — *μέντοι*, "yet"; the connection of thought is as follows: "The accusation is complete, yet I ought to speak of the advantage over the city which this trial gives Eratosthenes, for he," etc. — *κατήγορος καὶ δικάστης αὐτός*; at first without restriction, but when, after many arbitrary executions, the Thirty were obliged to make concessions to the views of Theramenes, it was determined that no person in the list of the privileged Three Thousand (see note on *κατεψηφίστατο*, § 52) might be doomed to death by the Thirty without appeal (Xen. *Hell.*, II. 3, 51): all others, as before, held their lives at the tyrants' mercy. Under this rule, Lysias intimates, it was much easier for Eratosthenes to obtain verdicts than it is now for the city to get a verdict against him by due process of law. Compare the remark of Grote upon the unconstitutional condemnation of the six generals for neglect at the Arginusæ: "There has been no

people, ancient or modern, in whose view the formalities of judicial trial were habitually more sacred and indispensable than that of the Athenians; formalities including ample notice beforehand to the accused party, with a measured and sufficient space of time for him to make his defence before the dicasts; while those dicasts were men who had been sworn beforehand as a body, yet were selected by lot for each occasion as individuals." *Hist.*, VIII. 196.

82. — οὐδ' ἄν, *G.*, 42, 2, and Note 1. — παρανόμους; the fate of the six generals could hardly fail to have suggested and been suggested by this word. We have already observed, §§ 36, 68, that the orator seems afraid of that topic, though it is one that he can hardly help referring to. — ἄξιαν construe with λάβοιτε. — ὦν... πόλιν, *G.*, 159, and *N.* 2. *H.*, 555. ὦν, by attraction for ἄ. — τί... παθόντες, "by what sufferings?" What regular form of the protasis does this participle represent? Observe the position of ἄν, and see note on οὐδ' ἄν above. — εἴησαν... δεδωκότες, *G.*, 18, 1.

83. — ὦν οὗτοι, the antecedent of ὦν is the ἡμεῖς in λάβομεν. — ἄλλὰ γάρ, see the same and note, § 40; translate: "but [why speak of full satisfaction?] for," etc. This elliptical expression is equivalent to "nay, more." — χρήματα τὰ φανερὰ, "real property," in distinction from cash and valuables which the Thirty had probably removed. — δημεύσετε... ἔχοι, *G.*, 54, 1, (b). — καλῶς ἄν ἔχοι, "would it satisfy?" — εἰλήφασιν; observe the special force of the perfect, denoting the continuance of the result (*G.*, 17, *N.* 2, and *Rem.*), as distinct from the aorist ἐξεπύρθησαν, denoting momentary past occurrence. Although part of these losses could be made good out of the confiscated estates of the tyrants, it was not possible to effect a restoration to the rightful owners of all the property which had unlawfully changed hands during the troubles.

84. — δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν; after these words Rauchenstein and others put a conjectural [ἀξίαν] without, as it seems, sufficient reason. δίκην alone here stands intelligibly enough as the equivalent of δίκην ἀξίαν, § 82, and ἱκανὴν δίκην, § 83. Compare δίκην δοῦναι δύναναι ἄν, § 37. — πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρόν, see οὐκ οὖν δεινόν and note, § 36. — ἦντινοῦν, *H.*, 816, a. Suits (see XVI., *General Note*, 7) were of two kinds, according as a variable penalty was inflicted at the discretion of the court (this was the δίκη τμητή), or as the penalty was prescribed and fixed by law (δίκη ἀτίμητος). The present case was of the former kind, as the law contemplated no such accumulation of crimes as Eratosthenes was charged with. — βούλοιο, *G.*, 61, 4. — ἄν... τολμήσαι; what form of the finite verb does this represent? *G.*, 53, compare 41 and 21. Where does the protasis appear? *G.*, 52, 1. — νυνί, emphatic. — οὐχ ἑτέρων ὄντων τῶν δικαστῶν; "the subject generally has the article, the predicate not"; Arnold's *Gr. Prose Composition*: *H.*, 535. — τῆς τούτου πονηρίας; instead of τούτου we might expect ἐαυτοῦ, since the

subject *δωσις* refers to Eratosthenes (see *note* on *οἷται*, § 40, and compare *note* on *δς*, § 65); *οἷτος*, however, as the common designation of an *adversary in court*, is not uncommonly used by Lysias, where we should expect the reflexive. See *note* on *τούτοις*, XXV., § 33. — *ἡ...ἡ*, equivalent here rather to *vel...vel* than to *aut...aut*, the assigned grounds of Eratosthenes's confidence, *καταπεφρόνηκεν* and *πεπίστευκεν*, being tantamount to each other, as the course of thought in the next section shows.

85. — *ἰδύναντο*; why is the imperfect used here instead of the aorist, as in the next line? *Γ.*, 49, 2 (second paragraph). Observe the changes of number in this section and the preceding, as if Eratosthenes and the Thirty were equivalent terms. — *μή*, *Γ.*, 283, 4. *H.*, 839. — *συμπράττοντων*, *Γ.*, 16, 2. Compare *τότε συμπράττοντας*, § 46. — *ἐλθεῖν*, i. e. into court. — *βοηθήσαντες*; these were in part the *συπερόντες*, § 86, and in part other persons who appeared in court to throw their influence in favor of the defendant. — *τοῦ λοιποῦ*; what distinction in meaning between the genitive and the accusative? *H.*, 591, *fine print*.

86. — *συπερόντων*, see *General Note*, 4. — *ἄξιον θαυμάζειν*, "we well may wonder." — *αἰτήσονται*, *H.*, 689, "will intercede." — *ἐβουλόμην*, *Γ.*, 226, 2, *fine print*. *H.*, 752. Like the Latin *vellem*, *ἐβουλόμην* *ᾧ* may refer to past time, and here, with *εἶναι*, means, "I could have wished them to be." *Γ.*, 49, 2. In § 22 it is used in reference to present time. — *οὔτοι*, supply *προϋθιμούμετο*. — *ἤ*, "or whether." — *οὐχ...οὐδέ...οὐδέ*, *Γ.*, 283, 8, last part. *H.*, 843. The emphasis of the strengthened negative is thrown on *τὰ δίκαια*, in contrast with the present readiness to defend the wrong. *H.*, 858, b.

87. — *ἄξιον ἰδεῖν*, compare Cicero's expression, *opera pretium est cognoscere*; *Or. in Catil.*, IV. 8. — *τό...πλήθος*. Rauchenstein reads *τοῦ...πλήθους*. But see the following accusatives with *διδ*, and compare *δι' ὑμᾶς*, § 58, *δι' ἑτέρους*, XXV., § 29. — *τοὺς τριάκοντα σάσαν*, intimating that a verdict for Eratosthenes would be a verdict for the Thirty. — *δέ* = "while." — *ἐπ' ἐκφοράν*. Frohberger cites *Æsch.*, III. 235: *οἱ τριάκοντα οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ ἐκφορὰς τῶν τελευτήσαντων εἶναι τοὺς προσήκοντας παραγενέσθαι*.

88. — *οὗς οὗτοι ἀπώλεσαν*, a rhetorical amplification thrown in with special reference to the following clause. — *τελευτήσαντες*, often used absolutely, without the *τὸν βίον*. — *πέρας...τιμωρίας*, "are debarred from taking vengeance on their enemies." — *οὐκ οὖν θανόν*, see § 36. — *τῶν μὲν*, see *note* on *μαχομένους μὲν*, § 79. — *συναπᾶλλοντο*, *Γ.*, 11, N. 4. — *ἐπ' ἐκφοράν*, as if there were no doubt of the defendant's condemnation. — *ὅποτε*, between this and the preceding clause some such expression as *ὥς εἰκός* is implied. — *βοηθεῖν*, emphatic: when so many are ready for the more arduous work of defending them, how many more would attend their funeral!

89. — καὶ μὲν δὴ, see the same, § 30, and *note*. The number ready to aid Eratosthenes occasions a sarcastic reference to his claim, § 25, ἀνέλεγον. — πολλῶν, G., 188, 2. H., 610. — εἶναι, “that it would have been,” G., 15, 3, supply *ἄν*, see *ὅσον τ’ ἦν*, and *note*, § 49. — ἤ, “than” [it is]. The implied εἶναι is a present tense here, while an imperfect before. — ἀπολογήσασθαι, the distinction between the *συνερούντες* and the *μάρτυρες* is dropped at this word, which applies to both, as *βοηθοῦντες*; see the preceding *βοηθεῖν*, § 88. — τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. Lysias meets the claim that Eratosthenes is the least culpable of the Thirty, by claiming that he is a citizen who has harmed his country more than any foreign enemy. Compare Cicero in *Catil.*, IV. 5: *qui autem reipublicæ sit hostis, eum civem esse nullo modo posse*.

90. — δέξεσθαι, G., 25, N. 5, (a), Markland’s conjectural emendation of the common reading *δέξασθαι*. This and the following section have mainly in view the city party, who are directly addressed in § 92. — δῆλοι...ὡς, G., 113, N. 1 and 10. Francken remarks that the only other example of this construction in good Attic [prose] writers is Xen. *Anab.*, I. 5, 9. — τὰ...προσταχθέντα, an allusion to the defendant’s plea, § 25.

91. — ἀποψηφισαμένους, G., 277, 2. H., 789, b. — κρύβδην, “in secret.” H., 492, h. See *General Note*, 3. Comp. Demosth. XIX. 239: *εἰ κρύβδην ἐστὶν ἡ ψήφος*.

92. — ὀλίγα...ἀναμνήσας, G., 159 and N. 2. H., 554. — καταβαίνειν, i. e. from the speaker’s platform ((βῆμα). — διὰ τούτων, compare διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, § 87, and *note*. The genitive with διὰ denoting the *means*, and the accusative denoting the *efficient cause*, are in this connection about equivalent. — παραδείγματα, H., 556, a, “warning examples.” — ἔχοντες, “with,” G., 109, *Note* 8. — ἤρχεσθε, in this word lies the hatefulness of the past tyranny, as contrasted with the present liberty expressed, § 94, by πολιτεύεσθε. — πόλεμον, G., 159. H., 547, a. — ἡττηθέντες, in the following paradox the unnaturalness of their recent civil war is well characterized.

93. — οἶκος; οἶκος often = οὐσία, as, Lysias, XIX. 47: οἶκος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἑκατὸν ταλάντων. — ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων, “as a result of their administration.” Compare § 56: the narrative, §§ 6–20, has substantiated the assertion. Rauchenstein and Scheibe before ἐκ insert [ἄν]. But while personal aggrandizement *would have been* a result of prolonged power, it *was* an actual result while their power lasted. Frohberger and others therefore reject the [ἄν]. — ὑμᾶς, i. e. you as a community; there were individual exceptions to the rule; see the next oration, § 16. — συνωφελεῖσθαι, “to share benefits,” συνδιαβάλλεσθαι, “to share accusations”; ὑμᾶς is subject of both; as to the idea, see *note* on πᾶσι δοσι, § 30. — κοινοῦμενοι...μεταδιδόντες, denoting the means, see ἀποψηφισαμένους, § 91. — ἐκτόντο,

G., 200, N. 2. H., 702. — τῶν ἀναδύν, i. e. by compulsory participation in their outrages; compare Plato, *Apol.*, § 20: καὶ ἄλλους ἐκεῖνα πολλοὺς πολλὰ προσέταττον βουλεύμενοι ὡς πλείστους ἀναπλῆσαι αἰτιῶν. — ᾧοντο εἰσαί, G., 15, 2, N. 3. See note on ᾧοντο κτήσασθαι, § 19. "By such participation," remarks Grote, "these citizens became compromised and imbrued in crime, and, as it were, consenting parties in the public eye to all the projects of the Thirty; exposed to the same general hatred as the latter, and interested for their own safety in maintaining the existing dominion." *Hist.*, VIII. 244.

94. — ἀνθ' ὧν, H., 813, *fine print*. — ἐν τῷ θαρραλέῳ, G., 139, 2. H., 496. — τιμωρήσασθαι, H., 691. — ἔρχεσθαι, recalling the odious word (see § 92) for the sake of the contrast. — τῶν belongs with πολιτεύεσθε, H., 885; compare εἰρημέτους ὅπ' ἐμοῦ, § 77, and note. — ἀρίστων, i. e. the ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ in § 97. — πολεμίσαι, the tyrants now besieged in Eleusia. — ἐπικουρῶν, the garrison of 700 Spartans; see *Introd.* — ἀκρόπολιν. The Acropolis, or citadel of Athens, was "a square craggy rock rising abruptly about 150 feet, with a flat summit of about 1,000 feet long from east to west, by 500 broad from north to south." It was the chief centre of the architectural splendor of Athens. "After the Persian wars the Acropolis had ceased to be inhabited, and was . . . covered with the temples of gods and heroes, and thus its platform presented not only a sanctuary, but a museum, containing the finest productions of the architect and the sculptor." (Smith's *Smaller Hist. Greece*, Ch. X., which see for a good condensed account of the Acropolis.) The occupation of their national sanctuary by domineering foreigners must have stirred the indignation of every patriotic Athenian. With this well-put appeal, therefore, the orator closes his address to that portion of his hearers from which he might apprehend some opposition.

95. — τοσαῦτα, see the same, and note, § 47. — Πειραιῶς, the Piræus party was the one which Lysias had sided with, see *Introd.*, and on whose full sympathy he might reckon. — μάχας, see πόλεμον, and note, § 92. — ἀφῆρέθητε τὰ θύλα, G., 164. H. 553, a. See note on ἀφείλοντο, § 40. — ἐξεκηρύχθητε (see XXV., § 22). After the destruction of Theramenes, the Thirty forbade those who were not enrolled in the privileged list of the Three Thousand (see note on κατεψηφίσατο, § 52) to enter the city. Xen. *Hell.*, II. 4. 1. — πόλεων, those, namely, in alliance with Sparta. Xenophon, as just referred to, says ἐπέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων. Almost all of Greece was then included in the Lacedæmonian alliance; compare § 97, πανταχόθεν ἐκκηρυττόμενοι. Several cities refused to comply with the demand of Sparta, especially the two above named, with Argos, and Chalcis in Eubœa. — ἐξητοῦντο, for the middle voice, compare ἤτησατο, § 59, αἰτήσονται, § 86, and notes. The demand of Sparta was inspired by the Thirty, and is therefore charged to their account.

96. — ἀργίσθητε; distinguish by the accent the aorist imperative from the aorist subjunctive. Happily for Athens, this strong and natural desire of revenge did not control the policy of the restored democracy. See *Introd.* "The Athenian Demos, on coming back from Piræus, exhibited the rare phenomenon of a restoration, after cruel wrong suffered, sacrificing all the strong impulse of retaliation to a generous and deliberate regard for the future march of the commonwealth." Grote, *Hist.*, VIII. 303. — ὅτ' ἐφύγετε, "when you were in exile." — οἱ, compare *οἷνες*, § 40 and *ὅς*, § 65. — ἀγοράς. The Agora — corresponding in nature to the Forum at Rome — lay at the foot of the Acropolis toward the northwest; not southwest, as generally stated (see Smith's *Map*, 1873). It was adorned with colonnades, one of which, the *Στοὰ Ποικίλη* (from which the Stoic philosophers got their name), was especially famous for its paintings; and was lined with temples and the statues of gods and heroes. Here also was the Senate House (*Βουλευτήριον*), and the *θόλος*, or Round House, in which the Prytanes (see XVI., *General Note*, 3) took their common meals, and offered sacrifice. As a focus of political freedom, and under the special protection of the tutelary gods whose statues and temples it contained, the Agora is significantly mentioned here in connection with τῶν ἱερῶν, as desecrated by the violators of civil liberty. — ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν συναπαρτίζοντες, e. g. Theramenes had been dragged from the altar of Hestia in the senate house. — φονίας αὐτῶν, i. e. by drinking the hemlock-cup. — ταφῆς, see §§ 18, 87. — βεβασιόταν; there is a kind of (*rhetorical*) zeugma here; as applied to the government it means *more stable*, as applied to the divine vengeance it means *more certain*. For the definition of *grammatical* zeugma, see H. 882.

97. — διέφυγον; διεφύγετε would correspond better with the concluding ἤλθετε. — πλανηθέντες: after the triumph of the extremists in the murder of Theramenes, such a reign of terror set in throughout Attica, that emigrants in great numbers, and many in great destitution, swarmed into all the adjacent districts. — ἐκκηρυττόμενοι, see note on πόλεων, § 95. — πολεμικῇ, predicate, compare ταχείαν, and note, § 70; translate, "their native country, which had become a hostile country." — τοὺς μὲν, i. e. those left behind. . . . τοὺς δέ, i. e. those in exile; in each case the preceding τοὺς παῖδας. — For the terms of peace, see *Introd.* So far as concerns actual fighting between the Piræus party, under Thrasybulus, and the Spartans, under Pausanias, the honors of war were chiefly, though not wholly, with the latter. But the spirit and force displayed by the exiles, together with the universal clamor against the misgovernment of Athens, combined with the anti-Lysandrian feelings of Pausanias to put the speediest end to the troubles by an accommodation satisfactory to the Athenians themselves. For Sparta herself this was not only the easier course, but also, in the view of the Greeks generally, the more popular one.

98. — *τούτων*, "these objects," i. e. the liberation and the restoration. *G.*, 171. *H.*, 580. — *ἄν*, see *note* on οὐδ' *ἄν*, § 82. — *ἐφείγετε*; why not aorist, like the connected verbs? See *ἰδύναντο*, and *note*, § 85; translate, "you would be in exile." *H.*, 698. — *μὴ πάθητε*, *G.*, 20 and 46. — *τρόπους*, as described, § 96. — *ἐπὶ ξήνης*, supply *γῆς*. — *συμβολαίων*, "loans"; properly, bonds or notes for repayment of loans. — *ἰδούλεον*, as bound to liquidate their indebtedness by a fair term of service.

99. — *Ἀλλὰ γάρ*, see *XXV.*, § 17, and *note*. — *τὰ μέλλοντα*, equivalent to *ἄμελλον*, with an implied *ἄν*, *G.*, 49, 2, *N.* 3, (c). — *οὐ δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν*, recurring to the thought with which he began, *ἀνάγκη...ἀπειπεῖν*, § 1. — *προθύμιας*, *G.*, 172. *H.*, 575. — *τῶν ἱερῶν*, a term comprehending, with the temples themselves, also the movables therein, and the lands belonging thereto: the wider signification appears in *ἀπέδοντο*; the narrower in *εἰσιόντες* — *ἐμίαινον*; the presence of a man-slayer or other criminal polluted the sanctuary. Observe the distinction between the aorist and imperfect. *ἀπέδοντο* refers to them as sold and done with; *ἐμίαινον*, as subject to recurring acts of desecration. — *μικρὰν ἐποίησαν*, see § 70. — *τῶν νεωρίων*; these included ship-houses (*νεώσοικοι*), of which, in the three harbors of Piræus, there were 372, dock-yards for building (*ναπηγία*), and a naval arsenal (*σκευοθήκη*) which contained armor and stores for 1,000 ships. These *νεώρια*, or navy-yards, were constructed, under Pericles, at a cost of 1,000 talents. The Thirty had let out the work of demolishing them for the sum of three talents. Their motive is stated § 40. — *οἷς...βοηθήσατε*, compare *οἷς δηλώσατε*, § 60.

100. — *ἡμῶν*, all the speakers. — *ὑμᾶς εἰσεσθαι...φέροντας*, "will take knowledge how you vote." — *ἀποψηφίσθητε*, *G.*, 61, 3. — *αὐτῶν*, "them," reflexive, with some emphasis. *H.*, 671. — *καταψηφισέσθαι*, which Scheibe (ed. II.), Cobet, Frohberger, etc., read after the MSS., seems preferable to the conjectural *κατεψηφισμένους εἰσεσθαι*, which Rauchenstein adopts. — *λάβωσιν*; *λάβητε* would correspond better with the preceding *ἀποψηφίσθητε*: for a similar interchange of the second and third persons, see § 97, *διέφυγον* and *ἤλυθε*. — *πεποιημένους*, *G.*, 113; not to be diluted into an infinitive by supplying *εἰσεσθαι*. — *Πάύσομαι...δικάζετε*, for the asyndeton (*H.*, 854) Frohberger cites Aristotle, *Rhet.*, III. 19, *τελευτή δὲ τῆς λέξεως ἀρμόττει ἡ ἀσύνδετος, ὅπως ἐπιλογος, ἀλλὰ μὴ λόγος ἢ εἰρηκα, ἀκηκάτε, ἔχετε, κρίνατε*. — *ἔχετε*, "you understand"; literally, "you have," i. e. the facts and their interpretation. In Latin, *habeo* is similarly used. The first four imperatives may be imagined as deliberately uttered, in tones corresponding to their climactic arrangement; then a pause at the colon, followed, impressively, by the concluding *δικάζετε*.



## REPLY TO "THE OVERTHROW OF THE DEMOCRACY."

### XXV.

#### INTRODUCTION.

It has been stated in the *Introduction* to the Oration against Eratosthenes, that in order to check revengeful prosecutions after the restoration of the democracy, B. C. 403, Archinus, who had been the chief colleague of Thrasybulus in the struggle for the restoration, and to whom, next to the gods, as Demosthenes said, the city was indebted for her salvation, had the famous law passed, in the year after the restoration, which entitled persons prosecuted contrary to the amnesty to the privilege of a demurrer. Reference has also been made in the *General Note* (5) to the Defence of Mantiheus to the *dokimasy*, or scrutiny of the record of persons chosen to office, as affording an opportunity for the gratification of animosity in cases where it would be less easy to prosecute successfully a complaint under a specific law. In the present oration we probably find an instance where the revenge precluded by the law of Archinus was sought through the *dokimasy*. That this oration was prepared for a case in *dokimasy* seems pretty clear from some expressions in §§ 3 and 4. Such as the following, § 10, ἡμᾶς οὖν χρὴ ἐκ τούτων δοκιμάζειν τοὺς πολίτας, and § 23, ἡμᾶς μετέχοντας τῶν πραγμάτων, are not easy to understand in any other way.

That the date of the oration must be placed very soon after the restoration, is probable, not only from § 24, which represents the exiled faction as watching to see what policy would be adopted in the resettlement of affairs, but also from the way in which the time of misrule is referred to as but just past. From §§ 23 and 28, in which only the oaths of amnesty and concord are referred to, it has been inferred that the law of Archinus had not yet been passed, and consequently that the oration was delivered between the restoration in September, 403, and the beginning of 402. But as the law of Archinus had reference only to judicial proceedings, and provided only a judicial bar to such proceedings, the inference from silence in regard to that law in a case

of dokimasy perhaps cannot be absolutely depended on. In the dokimasy, says Curtius, "it was easy to reopen the old account of wrongs, without violating the amnesty in terms; and whosoever, after giving a lively description of the oligarchic intrigues, put the question whether men who had taken part in them were really worthy of filling offices of public trust, might rely upon applause, and cheaply acquire the glory due to a friend of the people." — *Hist.*, IV. p. 153. It is clear from an expression in § 28, that *some* interval had elapsed since the restoration. See *note* on *πολλάκις . . . διεκελεύσαντο*. This interval, however, can hardly have been more than a year.

The title given to this oration by the old grammarians is not obviously intelligible. It is probable (see Curtius, *Hist.*, IV. p. 155, *note*) that the phrase *δήμον κατὰλυσιν* — "overthrow of the democracy" — had become a party cry of demagogues, and that it contains the pith of the objection made to the present speaker, as having favored the recent overthrow of the democratical constitution. His defence, therefore, might be entitled a "Reply to the Charge of Overthrowing the Democracy," or, in abbreviated form, a "Reply to 'the Overthrow of the Democracy.'"

A wonderful moderation had characterized the proceedings of the Athenian democracy in its exultant return to power. The soul of that policy, so unprecedented in Greece, was Thrasybulus, and the equally worthy, though less celebrated, Archinus, of whom Curtius says, that "in intellectual capacity and in the spirit of his opinions, he was the foremost man of the restoration." — *Hist.*, IV. p. 68. The race of sycophants, however, had not died out (see *General Note* (10) to the Oration against Eratosthenes); and as it was not to be expected that the magnanimous spirit of the leading patriots would animate every democrat who had suffered from the fury of the oligarchs, so the arts of venal and greedy men were at hand to rouse and tempt the dormant spirit of revenge. And this indeed took place. "Fellows of the vilest kind, only entitled to be tolerated in the city . . . under cover of the amnesty, promoted the most shameless charges, and hired themselves out for money to annoy other citizens in the enjoyment of this very amnesty." — Curtius, *Hist.*, IV. p. 155. Such persons apparently had appeared against the present speaker. If their base practices were to succeed, could the original policy of amnesty and toleration be supplanted by one of proscription and revenge, the road to another revolution would be entered on. And the stability

of the restored democracy lay only in turning a deaf ear to the men who for ends of the most despicable selfishness sought to evoke and pander to the spirit of retaliation. The only prospect of peace and prosperity lay in faithful adherence to the Thrasybuline policy of moderation, and the oaths that guaranteed it, § 28.

This is the drift of the speaker's argument. He speaks like a man who, previous to the revolution, might have favored a moderate oligarchy, or at least a limited democracy. He, indeed, avows no preference for either form of government, and it is quite clear that he is no earnest democrat; but the tone which he adopts — urging the interests of the country as superior to those of party — is such as any sensible member of a hopelessly worsted party might well assume at such a time. In contrast with the prevailing spirit in Grecian politics, the sentiments of the speaker are remarkably elevated. (See *note* to § 70 in the preceding oration.)

The difference in tone between this oration and the Oration against Eratosthenes is very striking. In that we seemed to hear the cry of an extremist for vengeance; in this we listen to the plea of a moderate for toleration. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that the views of Lysias had undergone such a change in the short time — at most but a few months — since he had demanded the punishment of his brother's murderer. Eratosthenes having been specially excepted, as one of the Thirty, from the amnesty, Lysias could with entire consistency pursue him to the death, and at the same time call upon the people, as in this oration, to abide by their covenant with those to whom amnesty had been sworn. It is quite unnecessary, therefore, to attempt to account for the difference in the tone of these two orations, by referring to what has been said in the *Biographical Introduction* of Lysias's skill in adapting speeches to the individuality and circumstances of the speakers.

Lysias was on friendly terms with Thrasybulus and other leading democrats, and we may well suppose that we have in this oration the views, not only of Lysias himself, but of the best men in the party which then controlled the policy of Athens.

The burden of the charge against the speaker was, that he had not cast in his lot with the exiled democrats, but had remained in the city during the despotism of the Thirty, by which, it was claimed, he showed himself on the side of those who had overthrown the democracy, as a man who had nothing to fear from them. The reply is

presented in a very simple train of thought, which, with no display of oratorical ingenuity or art, holds us by its solid good sense and transparent truthfulness.

In form, the oration is a personal exculpation, but in substance it is a statesmanlike demonstration of a sound political policy. Twice in the last nine years had internal abuses, through the machinations of sycophants and oligarchs, overthrown the democracy; and no sooner had the state regained liberty and peace after the second and most disastrous of these revolutions, than the same evil practices began to be rife which had led to the woes just past. In such a situation the speaker, mostly abstaining from his personal matters (and therein presenting a marked contrast to Mantiheus), proceeds to show, from the fresh memory of the recent troubles, where lies the seed of all political instability and disorganization, and to demonstrate the only basis of future permanency and prosperity under the newly re-established government.

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#### GENERAL NOTE ON POINTS OF THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION TOUCHED IN THIS ORATION.

1. *Arbitrators.* The pressure of business on the courts of Athens was relieved by the institution of arbitrators (*διαιτηταί*). Of these there were two kinds, the *private* (*αιπειροί*), chosen by parties themselves, as among us, to be referees in particular cases, and the *public*, drawn annually by lot (*κληρωτοί*). The number of these arbitrators in the year B. C. 325 is known by an inscription to have been one hundred and four. It is probable that they heard civil causes only. It was at the option of the complainant to bring his case before them or a higher court. Which of the public arbitrators should hear any case was determined by lot. The parties might, however, agree to select their arbitrator. In that case there was no appeal from the award. The public arbitrators, besides lawsuits, sometimes sat to examine matters which could not be conveniently examined in a court of justice, as wills, deeds, etc. It was sometimes the case also, that they were called on to preside at the examination by torture of a slave supposed to be cognizant of some disputed matter. (See *General Note*, VII. 2.) The compensation of the public arbitrators was by prescribed fees from the parties interested.

2. *The Euthyna.* The legislation of Solon, B. C. 594, imposed on the archons the requirement of having their year of office reviewed and judged by the popular assembly. This custom spread at a later period into every branch of the public service. Every person who had filled any office — the dicasts excepted — was obliged, within thirty days after the expiration thereof, to render an account (*εὐθύνη*) of his administration. Until this was done, many of the civil and even personal rights of the ex-official remained in abeyance, and whoever refused to render his account was punished with forfeiture of civil rights. Any citizen had the right to bring complaint against an ex-official in the euthyne. In the case of financial officers the scrutiny was specially strict; in many other cases, the mere non-appearance of an accuser entitled the past officer to an honorable discharge.

3. *Atimia (ἀτιμία)*, literally signifying dishonor, technically signified the loss of civil rights. He who incurred it suffered a kind of civil death. He was excluded from the agora, the public sanctuaries, and the public sacrifices; he could be neither plaintiff, defendant, nor witness in any judicial process; he could neither speak nor vote in any public body; he could hold no place whatever in any branch of the public service. While he was not actually proscribed as a mark for enemies, he had no claim to the protection of the laws so long as he was in *atimia* (*ἀτιμος*).

Atimia was of three kinds, (1) total and perpetual; (2) total, but terminable; (3) partial. The first kind was inflicted on givers or takers of bribes, defaulters to the treasury, cowards, false witnesses, false accusers, unfilial sons, unjust judges, spendthrifts, fornicators, and those who insulted a magistrate in his duty. The second kind was terminable as soon as the duties were performed, whose neglect had incurred it; the public debtor was *atimos* no longer than his debt remained unpaid. The third kind extended only to particular rights; e. g. the failure of an accuser to carry the votes of one fifth of the jury deprived him of the right to appear again as accuser in a similar case.

It was difficult to remove atimia in ordinary times; but occasionally, when grave peril menaced the state, considerations of the public safety induced the restoration of civil rights to the *atimoi* in a body, § 27.

4. *Apagoge (ἀπαγωγή).* This was a summary process, by which a culprit caught in the act could be led at once before a magistrate,

who, upon proof of guilt, could inflict punishment without reference to the courts; otherwise the case must go up for regular jury-trial. The magistrates who presided over the apagoge were generally the Eleven (the board which had charge of the prisons, the police, and the punishment of criminals), or some one of the archons. In case the complaint were ill-founded, the complainant was liable to forfeit 1,000 drachms (§ 181). The process of apagoge was tyrannically abused by the Thirty. (See also *General Note*, VII. 3.)

## NOTES.

### XXV.

#### ANALYSIS.

##### I. — The Exordium, §§ 1-4.

The orator conciliates his judges, and impugns his accusers, § 1.

Declares these either incompetent or false, § 2.

Asks that they be discountenanced, and the innocent impartially treated, for the city's sake, § 3.

As both innocent and meritorious, he claims civil rights, § 4.

##### II — The Argument, §§ 5-34.

A. Negatively. There is no case against him; the accusers have been driven to tax him with the crimes of others, § 5, but

It is unjust to reward or punish the wrong persons, § 6.

B. Positively.

1. *With reference to his own case*, §§ 7-18.

a. In general: the test of the revolutionary and of the loyal spirit, §§ 7, 8.

As illustrated in the two recent revolutions, § 9.

Furnishing a fair rule for the dokimasy, § 10.

And a test of the accusations of sycophants, § 11.

b. In particular: his own case as illustrating the foregoing principle, § 12.

Especially as to his condition under the recent oligarchies, §§ 13, 14.

And to his conduct during the same, §§ 15, 16.

Which record guarantees his future course, § 17.

Who then are not, and who are, worthy of popular displeasure, § 18.

2. *From the tyranny of the Thirty.* You blamed them for visiting the sins of the few upon the many, § 19.

Consistency and the public good require you to blame their policy still, § 20.

3. *From the suicidal error of the oligarchs.* You were disheartened while they agreed, § 21, but  
 Elated and strengthened by their disagreements, § 22.  
 Therefore concord and observance of the amnesty are your salvation, § 23, but  
 A proscriptive policy your perdition, hoped for by your enemies, § 24.
4. *From the history subsequent to the fall of the Four Hundred,* §§ 25-27.  
 Showing the ruinous consequences of listening to sycophants, § 27.
5. *From the counsels of the leaders of the restoration,* § 28.  
 With whom as political guides contrast the sycophants, §§ 29-31,  
 Whose influence reduces democracy to a mere name, § 32,  
 Who favor only their selfish ends, §§ 32, 33,  
 Whose base principles and practices are notorious, § 34.

### III. — The Peroration, §§ 34, 35.

The *claim* and the *apprehension* of innocent citizens in the situation of the speaker.

1. — λόγων, i. e. those of the accusers. — γεγεννημένων, i. e. in the time of the Thirty. — ὀργιζεσθαι; Frohberger remarks, that a more usual construction with συγγνώμην ἔχειν τι is a participle, or a clause with εἰ or ἐάν, more rarely ὅτι. ὀργιζεσθαι clearly stands in the relation of a protasis to συγγνώμην ἔχω (*G.*, 52), and so one MS. reads εἰ ὀργίξεσθε. — ἀμειλύντες... ἐπιμειλύνται, Socrates (*Mem.*, III. 7, 9) reproaches the Athenians in general with this fault: οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ ὠμῆκότες ἐπὶ τὸ σκοπεῖν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πράγματα, οὐ τρέπονται ἐπὶ τὸ ἐαυτοὺς ἐξετάζειν. — ἡ ὑμᾶς πείθειν; instead of these words Francken would read ὑμᾶς πείθοντες. — ἡμῶν, i. e. who remained in the city. — γνώμην ταύτην, i. e. ὀργιζεσθαι.

2. — [πάνθ' ὁμοῦ]. Frohberger and Francken read simply ὁμοῦ, without brackets. — ὥς...προσῆκον, *G.*, 110, 2, and see ὥς οὐκ ἔχω, XII., § 2, and note. — ἐμοί, emphatic. — ποιοῦνται τοὺς λόγους, see the same phrase, and note, XII., § 2. — ὄντα, i. e. during the rule of the Thirty, *G.*, 16, 2. — οἰδίσπερ, *H.*, 850, 3. — βέλτιστος, *Bullmann's Gr.*, § 68, 1, thus distinguishes in signification the anomalous forms of comparison given under ἀγαθός: ἀμειλων, ἀριστος, *adler*, *braver*, *filter*; βελτίων, βέλτιστος, *better* in a moral sense; κρείσσων, κράτιστος, *stronger*, *superior*; λῦων, λῦστος, *more advisable*, only used in certain connections. — μέντας, *G.*, 109, 6.

3. — ἐκ τούτων, involves a protasis, = if they should accuse these. — χρηματίζονται, because the innocent frequently, through timidity, prefer to pay hush-money. — ἐξ ἴσου, "on equal terms," i. e. to men of both parties. — οὕτως, involves a protasis, = "if you should so do." *G.*, 52, 1, and the concluding examples.

4. — ἀποφῆν...γεγεννημένος, for ἀποφῆν ἐμαυτὸν γεγεννημένον, *H.*, 797. So also Francken and Frohberger, instead of the ἀποφανῶ of the MSS. — ταῦτα, i. e. equal civil rights. — ὦν, depends on τυγχάνειν.

5. — The speaker here begins his *argument*. See Analysis. — τεκμήριον,

of *what*, can easily be inferred. The thing to be proved is regularly stated, as Francken observes, by a clause with *ὅτι*, but here the *ὅτι* clause contains the proof itself. — *κατηγοροῦν*, for the construction following, see G. 173, 2, N. — *τιμωρῶσθαι*, middle.

6. — *εἰκότως ἄν*, a repetition, in varied phraseology, of the idea already expressed in *δίκαιον εἶναι*. For a similar repetition, compare *αἰσθάνεσθαι*, § 23. The *ἄν* expressed with *εἰκότως* (which might also have been expressed with *δίκαιον*) indicates it as involving an apodosis. The full form would be *εἰκότως ἄν ἔχω, εἰ... τυγχάνοιεν*. — *ἱκανοί... καὶ... νομίζοντες*, co-ordinate predicates after an understood *εἶναι*.

7. — *οὗς*, an infrequent use of the relative in place of the interrogative. — *καὶ δημοκρατίας*; read instead *κ. οὗς δ*. So Rauchenstein, Cobet, and Frohberger. — *καὶ ὑμεῖς, you*, as well as I. — *γνώσεσθε*, connects with the following *ὥς*. Frohberger, bracketing only *ἀποφαίνων*, as the interpolation of some copyist, regards *καὶ... ποιήσομαι* as a genuine parenthesis. — *ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ... ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ*, “under a democratic,” . . . “under an oligarchic constitution.” The same words with the article, as in §§ 11, 15, 27, refer definitely to the actually existing democracy, or oligarchy. — *οὐδέν*, G., 160, 2. H., 848, a. — *προσέηκον*, Rauchenstein supplies *ἐστὶ*: better to construe here as in § 2. See G., 113 (δ), last example. Translate: “that I have no inducement at all to be ill-disposed.”

8. — *ὀλιγαρχικός*, H., 469, b. — *δημοκρατικός*, not elsewhere used by the orators, and so Cobet substitutes here its more common synonyme, *δημοτικός*, Lat. *popularis*. Frohberger, however, cites an example from Plato's *Republic*, IX. 571: *ὁ τυραννικός ἀνὴρ πῶς μεθίσταται ἐκ δημοκρατικοῦ*, and remarks that the philosophical notion is what Lysias wishes here to express. As to the proposition here stated, it occurs also in Isocrates, VIII., § 133: *πανσώμεθα δημοτικούς μὲν εἶναι νομίζοντες τοὺς συκοφάντας, ὀλιγαρχικούς δὲ τοὺς καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, γόντες ὅτι φύσει μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἐν ᾗ δ' ἂν ἕκαστοι τιμῶνται, ταύτην βούλονται καθιστάναι τὴν πολιτείαν*. The idea that the individual existed for the state was combined in ancient politics with this idea that the state-constitution existed for the individual. — *συμφέρει*, G., 62. — *οὐκ ἐλάχιστον*, a *littles*; see the same, XII., § 22, and *note*. Translate: “it lies to a very great degree with you.” — *ὡς πλείστον*, H., 664, a.

9. — *προστάτας*, H., 726. — *μετεβάλλοντο*, the imperfect is preferable to the aorist, because of the repeated changes. So also Scheibe. Two revolutions and two restorations had taken place in about nine years. — *Φρόνιχος*, a man of great talents as an orator and a general, had worked his way up by intrigues and sycophancy, till we find him prominent among the Athenian commanders at Samos, B. C. 412 and 411. At first an opponent, he was gained over to be a partisan of the first oligarchy; and was assassinated



shortly before the downfall of the Four Hundred. — Πείσανδρος, a man who stood in evil repute at Athens as an effeminate debauchee, and who was at the same time a born intriguer, and an adept in dissimulation. Curtius, *Hist.*, III. p. 338. See also XII., § 66, and *note*, and VII., § 4. — τὰς...τιμωρίας, observe the article,—the due, or the lawful punishments. H., 527, c. — τὴν προτέραν ὀλιγαρχίαν, see XII., § 65. — ἔνιοι, especially Theramenes, XII., §§ 66, 67. — ἀπογραφάμενων. Grote (*Hist.*, VIII. p. 280, *note* 2) confesses that he does not comprehend this allusion. Rauchenstein thinks it refers to those citizens who had pledged themselves to go with the Thirty, in case these thought it necessary to retire to Eleusis, but who, instead of keeping their engagement, united with the Piræus forces under Thrasybulus in blockading Athens. Frohberger's explanation seems preferable, viz.: Those who "enlisted for Eleusis" are those who preferred to remove to Eleusis under the Thirty, rather than remain in Athens under the amnesty; but afterwards thought better of it, and joined the Athenian army in blockading their late superiors in Eleusis.

10. — πολιτείας, observe the emphatic position given this word by inverting the usual order of subject and predicate. — αἱ διαφοραί, see XII., § 51. — ἐκ τούτων, "from this point of view." — ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, see *note* on ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, § 7. — ἦσαν...πεπολιτευμένοι. Francken regards this connection of the pluperfect with the present, *χρῆ*, as a strange one, and suggests that *χρῆ* should be *χρῆν*. But see *G.*, 17, N. 2. Translate accordingly: "considering what their political relations were." — ἐγγίγνετο, the imperfect, with reference to a continued time after the change of constitution. — δικαιοσύνην, predicative, see ταχίαν, XII., § 70, and *note*. Distinguish the protasis and the apodosis which are combined in the proposition οὕτω...ποιώσθε. See οὕτω, and *note*, § 3.

11. — ἀτιμοί, see *General Note*, 3. — εὐθύνas, see *General Note*, 2. — δεδωκότας, suggests the ground of the atimia. — ἀπεστερημένοι...κερημένοι, supply ἦσαν with each. Three classes are specified, viz. those who had suffered atimia, those who had been impoverished (perhaps by liturgies or fines), and those who had suffered any similar adversity (as by the loss of a valuable office). — προσήκων αὐτοῖς; for another construction, see § 7. — ἀπίζοντας, remains constant to its infinitive, though its subject has been attracted into the dative by προσήκειν. — αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖς is emphatic. *G.*, 145. H., 669, b. — ὀφείλεται δὲ αὐτοῖς; when the relative pronoun would be in different cases in connected propositions, the Greek was fond of changing the relative to αὐτός, sometimes οὗτος, in the second and successive members of a compound sentence. — τὰς περὶ τούτων. So also Francken; but Frohberger omits περὶ. — οὐδ' ἄν, see ἄν...ἀναφύμναι, and *note*, XII., § 28. — οἱ...ἀπάλλοντες, "the politicians." — φάσκουσιν, "should assert." The distinction between φάσκω (assert, or allege) and

φημί (say), was not always observed. Compare *φασί*, XII., § 49, VII., § 2; *φησί*, VII., § 23.

12. — *ἔμοι*, emphatic. — *ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ τῷ χρόνῳ*, i. e. under the democracy, § 11. — *οὐδὲμία*, receives emphasis by separation from its subject, *συμφαρά*. — *ἀνθ' ἧσιν*. Compare *ἀνθ' ἐόντων*, XII., § 2, and *note*. — *ἀν προθυμοῦμενος*, G., 42, 2, and N. 1. Compare *οὐδ' ἄν*, XII., § 82, and *note*. — *παρόντων...ἀπαλλαγῆναι*, see XII., § 45. — *ἐτέρων...πραγμάτων*, a change of government, a revolution; as the Latin *novae res*. For *ἐτέρων* Cobet reads *νενωτέρων*. What difference between the conception of the imperfect, *ἐπεθόμουν*, and an aorist, *ἐπεθόμουν*? — *τετραπράρχηκα...εἰσφοράς...λελειπέναι*, see XII, *General Note*, 5, 6, 8. — *οὐδένος χάρον*, the negative belongs to the adjective; translate: "in a manner not inferior to any of the citizens." See *οὐδένος ἦσαν*, VII., § 31, and *note*.

13. — *προσταττομένην*, no definite sum was required to be spent in the fulfilment of a liturgy, but a satisfactory execution of the trust was expected. — *ἄστανόμην*, H., 690. See VII., § 31. — *βελτίων...νομίζομένην*, an unreserved avowal which no one hesitated to make. See XVI., § 17. — *ὧν...ἀπιστατόμην*, "of advantage from all which things I was deprived." — *χάριτος*, depends on *τυγχάνειν*. A case in point was that of the wealthy Antiphon, who had furnished two well-equipped triremes for the war at his own cost, but was put to death by the Thirty. — *ἀπ' ἀληφότες*, G., 109, N. 4. — *ταύτην*, i. e. the injuries done you. The pronoun is very often assimilated to the gender of a predicate substantive. As to the fact stated, see XII., § 93. — *παρ' ἡμῶν*, i. e. those who remained in the city. — *μή...λόγους*, see VII., § 34, *note* on *λόγους*.

14. — *τῶν τετρακοσίων*, see *ἐφόρων*, XII., § 46. G., 169. H., 572, a. — *ἢ*, "else." — *ὁ βουλόμενος*, G., 108, 2. — *παρελθὼν ἀνελγῆται*, "step forward [to the *δῆμα*] and confute me." — *οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ'*; this emphasizes the second member of the sentence, see H., 859, a: translate: "nor indeed, furthermore." For the sixfold negative, see G., 283, 8. H., 848. *οὐ* qualifies the whole sentence, introducing it as a negative sentence; *οὐδέ* belongs specially to the temporal clause. — *βουλεύσαντα...ἄρξαντα*, H., 708. — *εἰ μὲν...εἰ δέ*, a sharply put and conclusive dilemma: "I was either *not willing* to serve under the Thirty, or *not permitted* to do so: if not willing, I deserve your approbation; if not permitted, my accusers deserve your condemnation as liars." For a similar bit of argument, see XII., § 34. — *νυνί*, emphatic. — *τυχεῖσθαι*, i. e. by being admitted to the office to which I have been designated. — *δικαίως εἰμι*, "I am entitled," H., 777, and examples. — *ψευδομένους*, predicate accusative, G., 166. H., 556. — *ἀποδείξαι*; what is the protasis?

15. — *ἔξωκ' ἀνέλκεσθαι*, see *note* on *ἔξωκ' ἰδῆναι*, XII., § 37. — *παρόντων*. Could *παρόντων* have been read instead? With what difference would it

have presented the thought? For the active instead of the middle, see H., 688, a. — *κεκρήσθαι*, G., 18, 3, Remark. — *ἐπ' ἐμοῦ*, observe the emphasis repeatedly given to the personal pronoun in this section. — *ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ*, see *ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ*, § 7, and *note*. — *ἀπαχθεῖς*; for the technical meaning, see L. & S. *Lex.* (Am. ed.), *ἀπάγω*, IV. and *General Note*, 4. Imitating the despotic abuse of the summary process of *apagoge* by the Thirty (XII., § 16), private persons among their partisans resorted to it in taking revenge upon their enemies. — *εὖ πεπονθώς*, that is, unjustly, and for party purposes: G., 165, N. 1.

16. — *οὗ τοίνυν οὐδ'*, see the same, and *note*, § 14. — *εὖ ποιεῖν...χαλεπόν*, because of the policy of the tyrants as described in XII., § 93. — *κατάλογον*, "a list of suspected persons was drawn up, in which each of the adherents of the tyrants was allowed to insert such names as he chose, and from which the victims were generally taken." Grote, *Hist.*, VIII. p. 247. — *Ἀθηναίων*, join with *οὐδένα*. — *δίαίταν*, G., 159. H., 547, a. See *General Note*, 1. — *καταδαιτυσάμενος*, causative middle. — *πλουσιώτερος*, see § 26, and XII., § 93.

17. — *καὶ μὲν δὴ*, see XII., § 30, and *note*. The speaker calls attention to the record just exhibited. — *δοτις*, not *δς*, because, according to Frohberger, not the *man*, but the *sort* of man is the turning-point of the argument. Compare *οἱ* and *οἷτις*, § 18, and see XII., § 40, *οἷτις*, and *note*. — *ἡ πού*, see XII., § 35, and *note*. — *προθυμηθήσομαι*; apparently the time since the restoration had been too brief for the speaker to give proof of good-will by any public service. — *ἀλλὰ γάρ*; the ellipsis may be filled by some such thought as *τί δεῖ πλείω λέγειν*; see XII., § 99. — *μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν*; the same thought is elsewhere expressed by Lysias, e. g. XXI., § 15, *καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχεσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι τοιοῦτους πολίτας, ἵνα τῶν μὲν ὑμετέρων μὴ ἐπιθυμήσωσι, τὰ δὲ σφέτερα αὐτῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀναλίσκωσι*.

18. — *δικαίως*, see XII., § 54, and *note*. — *φυγόντας*; distinguish the signification of the aorist from the present *φεύγοντες*, § 20. — *ἐχθρούς*, see *ψευδομένους*, and *note*, § 14. — *ἀφηρημένους*, observe the force of the middle. — *σφετέρως αὐτῶν*, a mere variation of the preceding *ἐαυτῶν*, G., 137, N. 1; 147, N. 2. H., 676, *sine print*. — *ἐν τῷ δοτεῖ*. Cobet strikes out the *τῷ*. Frohberger, however, regards the article as giving a *local*, rather than a *party* reference to the phrase. — *οἷτις*, "such as"; see *note* on *δοτις*, § 17. — *μετέσχον*, why not *μέτεσχον*? — *ὑμεῖς*; for the sake of antithesis to *ἐκεῖνοι*, the subject of *οἷσθε* is here repeated in the nominative, despite the contiguous infinitive: see *Buttmann's Gr.*, § 142, N. 3: "When, in a dependent clause, there are introduced other subjects besides that of the main sentence, and consequently, for the sake of antithesis, a repetition of the subject in the dependent clause seems necessary, a twofold construction may take place, viz. either all the subjects are put in the accusative, or the

repeated subject stands alone in the nominative," etc. Frohberger remarks that this construction is found in only one other instance in Lysias (XXX., § 8), but is very frequent in Demosthenes, and not rare in Xenophon. — τῶν πολιτῶν, i. e. of the *ol ἐν δαρεῖ* party.

19. — ἐκ τῶνδε, "from the following considerations," H., 679. — ἔλεπον... ἔδαροδόκουν, observe the force of the imperfect. Grote remarks that "personal and pecuniary corruption seems to have been a common vice among the leading men of Athens and Sparta." *Hist.*, V. p. 381. — ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις, supply πράγμασι; ἐπὶ denotes the occasion. — συκοφαντοῦντες... ἀφίστασαν. Speaking of Alcibiades, Lysias says, XIX., § 52: διπλάσια ἐκέλευ ἤξιουν αἱ πόλεις δίδουαι ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὥστ' ὦντο εἶναι τινες αὐτῷ πλέον ἢ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα. — τοῦτους μόνους, the δδικοὶ of XII., § 5. — ἐτιμωροῦντο, "had continued the practice of punishing," G., 49, 2. — ἐκείνοις, i. e. the peculators, sycophants, etc. — [τῶν] ὀλίγων. Frohberger defends the bracketed article as needed to distinguish "the minority" from the body of citizens. — κοινά, emphatic.

20. — τοῖτοις, "these measures," i. e. punishing the many for the misdeeds of the minority. — ἐκείνους, in this connection, can only refer to the Thirty. ἀ...πάσχειν stands in the relation of object-accusative to ἡγείσθαι, and δίκαια is the predicate-accusative. — περὶ αὐτῶν refers to ἐτέρους, i. e. persons in the situation of the speaker. So Frohberger. See, however, the following. — ἔχετε is imperative. — φεύγοντες, H., 698. — περὶ ὧν αὐτῶν. Rauchenstein brackets these words, regarding them as an interpolation occasioned by referring the preceding περὶ αὐτῶν to persons, ἐτέρους, whereas he refers it to the unjust practices complained of. — τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, see this thought amplified in § 23.

21. — τῶν...γεγεννημένων, for the genitive after ἐνθυμηθῆναι, see XVI., § 20, and note. — ἁμαρτήματα, "mistakes." — ἀμεινον modifies βουλευσασθαι, from which it is separated, and placed forward in the sentence, for emphasis. — ποιήσῃ, G., 44. For the idea expressed, compare Virgil's *ab hoste doceri fas est*; also, Aristophanes's ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν πολλὰ μανθάνουσιν οἱ σοφοί (*Birds*, 376). — ἀκούετε, G., 62. — τὴν αὐτὴν, supply ἀλλήλοισ. — κακὸν...φυγῇ; the same idea is expressed in Xenophon's account of Theramenes's reply to Critias (*Hell.*, II. 3, 44): εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἴχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν ἡγείσθαι (τοὺς φεύγοντας) εἶναι· καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι τῆς χώρας.

22. — ἐπυνθάνεσθε, preferable to πυνθάνουσθε. So also Francken, with Kayser, who remarks that the change of *δρε* to *επειδη* corresponds well with the change of mood. The optative ἀκούετε denotes an indefinitely repeated action; the imperfect, a definite continued action. — τρισχιλίους, a privileged number of citizens, supposed to be favorable to the Thirty, and therefore, together with the cavalry-men (see XVI., *Introd.*), permitted to hold

some civil rights. — *σπασιάζοντες*, after the defeat at Munychia, in which Critias perished (see XII., *Introd.*). — *ἐκκεκρηγμένους*, see *ἐξεκρηγύθητε*, XII., § 95, and *note*. — *μὴ τὴν αὐτήν*; see Thucydides, VIII. 89, and Grote's remarks (*Hist.*, VIII. pp. 58–60) on the greater likelihood of discord in an oligarchy than in a democracy. — *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δεδιότας*, "anxious for your success." — *πολεμοῦντας*; all whom the Thirty could then rely on were the Lacedæmonian garrison and the cavalry-men. — *ἄπειρ*, "precisely what." — *σωθήσεσθαι...κατίναί*, Frohberger remarks that the omission of either of the infinitives would destroy the *isocolon*. See XII., § 7.

23. — *παραδείγμασι*, predicate-dative, H., 607, a. For the argument, compare XII., § 92. — *βουλεύεσθαι*; the word denoting the function of the dicasts was *δικάζειν*, XII., § 100, in order to which it was necessary, as intimated, *βουλεύεσθαι*, etc. — *ἔσσεσθαι*; what other tense could be used? G., 25, 2. — *δημοτικωτάτους*, the superlative perhaps hints at improper applications of the epithet *δημοτικός*, which were common in Athens, as was the case also with the synonymous *popularis* at Rome. Compare Cicero (*in Cat.*, IV. 5), "*ne quis . . . in perniciem populi Romani posthac popularis esse possit.*" — *οἵτινες*, see § 18. — *ὁμονοῶν*, emphasized here (by its position) as the watchword of a sound domestic policy. — *ὅρκους...συνθήκαις*, see XII., *Introd.* — *ταύτην*, see the same, and *note*, § 13. — *αὐτοῖς*, the same as *οἱ φεύγοντες*, § 24. — *τούτων*, ἤ, one of these words is superfluous in translation. H., 884. Compare with this pleonastic use of the pronoun to announce the following clause, the Latin *hoc* or *illud*, in such sentences as, *Hoc te rogo, ut epistolam scribas.* — *αίσθάνεσθαι*, not a necessary word, but thrown in to balance the *μέν* clause. Compare *σωθήσεσθαι...κατίναί*, and *note*, § 22. — *ᾧσπερ*, G., 109, N. 9.

24. — *πολιτῶν*, limits *πλειστούς*. — *διαβεβλήσθαι*, G., 18, 3, N. — *δέξαιν'*, here thrown into the middle of the sentence, because less emphatic than the two infinitives. What is the protasis? — *πονηρίαν...σωτηρίαν*, compare *ἀπειπεῖν...ἐπιλιπεῖν*, XII., § 1; see also §§ 54, 78, *notes*; also *σωτηρίαν...τιμωρίαν* above, § 23.

25. — *ἀ...συμβουλεύουσιν*, i. e. party revenge. — *ἀ...παραινῶ*, i. e. *ὁμοροεῖν*, § 23. — *ἀμφοτέραις...πολιτείαις*, i. e. both oligarchy and democracy. — *Ἐπιγένην*, the three individuals here named, and just before alluded to as *οἱτοί*, are not otherwise known, but were probably the accusers in this case. — *καρπώσαμένους...συμφοράς*, compare *οὐδὲ πλουσιώτερος*, § 16, and *note*. — *ἐνίων...θάνατον*, G., 173, 2, N. — *ἀκρίτων*, probably the six generals are referred to (see XII., § 36), who perished *ἀκριτοί*, so far as they had no constitutional trial.

26. — *ἀδίκως θημεῖσθαι*; the fact is more circumstantially stated in XXX., § 22: *ἡ βουλὴ ἢ βουλευούσα θανὼν μὲν ἔχῃ ἱκανὰ χρήματα εἰς διοίκησιν, οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνει, θανὼν δὲ εἰς ἀπορίαν καταστῇ, ἀναγκάζεται εἰσαγγελλίας*

δέχεσθαι καὶ δημεῖν τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν βητόρων τοῖς τὰ πονηρότητα λέγουσι πείθεσθαι. — ἀργύριον λαμβάνοντες, compare χρῆματα λαβών, and note, XII., § 8; λαμβάνοντες rather than λαβόντες, to denote a repeated act. — εἰσάγοντες, i. e. with informations, εἰσαγγελλῆαι; see XVI., *General Note*, 7. — πρότερον... ὥστε, see XII., § 71, and note. — πλοῦστοι ἐγένοντο, see § 19.

27. — ὅμεις... διετέθητε; Francken remarks that this also depends on the preceding *ὥστε*, as the point to be described is not, mainly, the *disposition* of the Athenians, but, to what *condition* they had been brought by the practices of the sycophants. A comma, therefore, might stand after ἐγένοντο. So Frohberger, who puts a comma also after διετέθητε, where Francken omits ὥστε, and puts a period. The measures here described were taken after the disaster of *Ægospotami*, and previous to the surrender of the city. The orator Patroclides, in the interest of the oligarchical party, proposed "that public debtors, and those who had been condemned in public suits, or whose case was still under judgment, those who had formerly been members of the Four Hundred, together with all who had wholly or partially forfeited their civil rights, should be reinstated in their full rights and honors. . . . So comprehensive an amnesty had only occurred twice in Attic history: once under the archonship of Solon, as the introductory measure to his great work of reconciliation, and again at the time of the battle of Salamis, when it appeared necessary to unite all forces at hand for the preservation of the common country." Curtius, *Hist.*, III. p. 564. Frohberger cites Cicero (*in Ferr.*, II. 5, 6): "*Perdita civitates desperatis jam omnibus rebus hos solent exitus exitiales habere, ut damnati in integrum restituantur, exsules reducantur, res judicatae rescindantur.*" — φεύγοντας, the restoration of the exiles could not be accomplished until the termination of the siege. It was then made an article of the treaty stipulations. — ἄνους; Andocides (*Or. de Myst.*, § 76) says: ἐδοξεν... πίστω ἀλλήλοις περὶ ὁμορίας δοῦναι ἐν ἀκροπόλει. The imperfect tense is noticeable here in the series of aorists. It conceives the fact not as a single momentary occurrence, like the vote which decreed it, but as an action which required time for its completion. The Areopagus (see XII., *General Note*, 2) appears to have acted in this emergency as a Committee of Safety, and probably these proceedings were by its direction. See XII., § 69. — ἡδίων... ἐτιμωρήσασθαι, see § 19. — τοὺς ἀρξάντας, against whom, and their adherents, the sycophants had operated. — δις κατέστη, compare δις... κατεδουλώσατο, XII., § 78. Frohberger cites Plato (*Rep.*, VIII. 564): ἡ ἀγὰν ἐλευθερία τοῖσιν εἰς ἀγὰν δουλείαν μεταβάλλειν. — οἷς is governed by πειθομένοις, which agrees with ὑμῖν understood; and the subject of ἐλυσιτελεῖν is the πείθεσθαι which is implied in πειθομένοις, and might have stood here in its stead. Rauchenstein, with Frohberger, prefers to connect πολλὰκις

'immediately with *πειθομένους*. But the speaker's point is, that his hearers must *no more* follow evil counsellors. Accordingly, he says, in a kind of *littotes* (XII., § 20), οὐκ ἄξιον τοῖς πολλὰς χρῆσθαι συμβούλοις. The reading here followed is Scheibe's.

28. — οἱ... ἔχοντες, specially Thrasybulus, Archinus, and Anytus. The last named was a man of the people, uncultured and rough, who had become rich in the trade of a tanner, and who acquired afterward the ill-name of being one of the accusers of Socrates, and probably the influential mover of his prosecution. For Thrasybulus, see *note* on XII., § 52; as to Archinus, see *Introduction* to this oration. — πολλὰς... διεκλεύσαντο, *G.*, 30, 1, N. 1. See the speech of Thrasybulus, *Xen. Hell.*, II. 4, 40–42. Goodwin's *Gr. Reader*, p. 85. Time enough had apparently elapsed since the restoration for quite a number of occasions to arise, on which the leaders of the people had to insist on the observance of the amnesty. — ταύτην, for τοῦτο, referring to ἐμμένειν: see the same, and *note*, §§ 13, 23. — ἄδαν, oftener construed with the simple genitive, XII., § 85. — ποιήσαν depends on an implied ἡγοῦντο, and has for its subject τοῦτο understood, referring to ἐμμένειν.

29. — οἱς, i. e. to the leading patriots. — δι' ἐτέρους, for the case, see δι' ὑμᾶς, XII., § 58, and διὰ τούτων, § 92. — ἐσάθησαν, see § 22, where this word and κατείναι are used as synonymes. — φάνερους, the personal construction instead of the impersonal. Compare the use of δηλός, XII., § 50, and δηλός, § 90. — ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, see § 7, and *note*. — ὅποιοι τινες, the speaker has sketched himself already in § 17.

30. — τούτων, construed with θαυμάζειν by prolepsis, H., 726, instead of standing as subject of ἐποίησαν. — ἂν ἐποίησαν, for the argument, see XII., § 34. — πλοῦστοι, see § 26, and compare Cicero (*in M. Antonium*, II. 27), modo egens, repente dives. — εὐθύνην, in the disturbances of the times, there was probably no lack of pretences on which the *euthyme* could be avoided. — πόλεμον, i. e. a war of prosecutions. — κατηγγέλασσι, "have proclaimed," as though the power were in their hands. — τούτους; for the change from the relative to the demonstrative, see § 11, *note* on ὀφείλεται δὲ αὐτοῖς. — ἀπιστοί... γεγενήμεθα, "we have lost the confidence of the Greeks." There were complaints, e. g. of the favor shown to Athenian citizens in lawsuits with other Greeks. The demagogues had also, since the death of Pericles, gradually doubled the annual tribute of the dependent cities, not for war-purposes, so much as for largesses, shows, and buildings in Athens. See Plutarch, *Aristides*, § 24.

31. — ἐκείνοι... οὗτοι; see Lys. XXVIII. 13: ὅσοι δὲ κατελθόντες ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ τὸ μὲν ὑμέτερον πλῆθος ἀδικοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ ἰδίους οἴκους ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων μεγάλους ποιοῦσι, πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς προσήκει ὀργιζέσθαι ἢ τοῖς τριάκοντα. — δημοκρατίας, supply οὗσης. — οἰονται χρῆναι, sarcastic, "think it their

duty." — οὐτω ῥαδίως, "without further scruple." — ἀδικούντων...γεννημένοι, *G.*, 111.

32. — καὶ τούτων, Rauchenstein conjecturally emends καὶ τοῖς καίτοι in view of the preceding negation (§ 30) of the ἀξίον θαυμάζειν which he here asserts. The simple καί, however, is often used, as here, to introduce an antithesis. Compare VII., §§ 15, 40, and *notes*, and see *L. & S. Lex.* The speaker here offsets his previous remark by saying, "And yet, *they* are not so to be wondered at as *you*." — γίγνεται δέ, notwithstanding the principle of democracy is τὸ ἴσον, XII., § 35: δέ = "while," XII., § 87. — τὰ σφέτερα, see *note* on τῆς σφετέρας, § 18. — μὴ διδόντες, i. e. to the sycophants.

33. — [κινδύνους], Rauchenstein, bracketing this word, assents to the view of Cobet and Scheibe, that it is a mere gloss. — σωτήρια, Rauchenstein and Frohberger read σωτήρια, and cite XII., § 69. — τούτους μὲν ἐπιλύσεσθαι, the common text, for which Rauchenstein and Sauppe have ὑποδύσεσθαι, Frohberger ἐπιλήσεσθαι, — future middle with passive meaning, for which it is difficult to cite an example from Attic prose, — and Francken (who exclaims, "*Locus unus omnium difficillimus*"), ἐπιλύσασθαι. The analogy of XII., § 84, τῆς τούτου πονηρίας (see *Note*) refers τούτους to the present accusers, as the speaker would probably show by a gesture; ἐπιλύσεσθαι signifies to become weak, i. e. to lose credit. — ἐκείνους refers to the just-mentioned ἐτέρους. — τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δείσαντες, according to Kayser's conjecture, for the common text, τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες. Frohberger reads διὰ τοῦτο πάντως. — ἔμποδόν εἶσιν, for the form of the apodosis, see *G.*, 50, 1, R. 1.

34. — τῷ βουλομένῳ, involves the protasis, εἰ τις βούλεται, *G.*, 49, 1. See XVI., § 7, and *Note*. — αὐτοὶ τε...ὑμεῖς δέ; *H.*, 855, b. Frohberger remarks, that this transition from a copulative to an adversative form, though quite common in the orators and historians, is used by Lysias elsewhere only in XIX., § 62. It throws the main emphasis on the second proposition. — μὴ δοκοῦντες, *G.*, 283, 4. *H.*, 839. See μὴ in XII., § 85.

*The Peroration*, see *Analysis*. — ἡμεῖς δέ; in his peroration, as in the introduction, § 1, and throughout the argument, the speaker expresses himself as a representative of his party. — πρὸς πάντας, observe the emphatic position. — συγγνώμην ἔχομεν, a recurrence to the introductory remark, § 1, but with a qualification. Observe the same recurrence to the opening strain in XII., § 99.

35. — δίκην διδόντας, definite instances where this took place in *contravention of the amnesty* — which δμως implies — are not known. The Thirty and their immediate agents were excepted from the amnesty, and the seizure and execution of their generals at Eleusis (see XII., *Introd.*) does not come within the scope of the speaker's remark, which bears only upon



civil processes. — *eis ὑποψίαν καταστήσετε*, i. e. "suspicion" that the sworn amnesty will be of no benefit to us, and that we must seek our security in new measures. But this will be likely to produce fresh troubles.

Though the speaker's concluding word, or words, are lost, evidently little remained to be said. Francken suggests, that the conclusion might have been as follows: *ἡμᾶς εἰς ὑποψίαν καταστήσετε ὑμῖν δ' αἰσχίστα βουλεύσεσθε· ἐὰν δὲ τάναντία, βοηθήσετε καὶ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κειμένοις, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς, οἷς ὁμωμέκατε.*] But a terse brevity in the conclusion is characteristic of Lysias's style (see *Biographical Introduction*).

## AREOPAGITIC ORATION CONCERNING THE SACRED OLIVE TRUNK.

### VII.

#### INTRODUCTION.

OLIVE culture has been from remote antiquity an important part of husbandry in Attica, whose soil and climate are peculiarly adapted to the production of a fine quality of that fruit, and where to this day extensive olive groves flourish on the banks of the Cephissus. The state very early exercised supervision over the olive-trees as a valuable source of national wealth. In the fifth century B. C. a law was passed which forbade the uprooting of olive-trees under a penalty of 200 drachms (\$ 36.20) for each tree destroyed, excepting for sacred purposes, or to the extent of two trees per annum for the convenience of the proprietor. (Grote, *Hist.*, III. p. 135.)

Besides the common olive-trees (*ἐλαίαι*), which were the property of private individuals, there were also public olive-trees (*μορίαί*), sacred to Athene, supposed to have been propagated from the sacred and immortal olive-tree in the Erechtheum, which Athene, in her contest with Poseidon for the possession of Attica, had miraculously produced. A plantation of these trees stood near the temple of Athene in the Academy. A considerable number of such *μορίαί* were also scattered about on private grounds, constituting incumbrances thereon. They were all registered, the right to gather their produce was leased, and their oversight was committed to the Areopagus (§ 29). This body both nominated inspectors (*γνώμονες*) to exercise supervision over the trees, and in its monthly sittings took cognizance of all complaints respecting them (§ 25). To cultivate the ground immediately about a *μορία* was forbidden under a fine (§ 25), as impairing the tree's productiveness. The removal of such a tree was punishable, as an outrage on a sacred object under the protection of *Ζεὺς Μόριος*, by exile and confiscation (§ 3). The action was *ἀρίμνητος* (XII. § 84, *Note*), and not subject to any statute of limitation, *προθεσμία* (§ 17).

During the Peloponnesian War, and the subsequent struggles between the oligarchical and democratic parties of Athens, the country

had been devastated far and near (§ 6), and the olive-trees, both common and sacred, had perished in large numbers. But the vitality of this tree ("silva vivacis oliῡæ," *Virg.*) is such, that when cut down it sprouts again, if the stump be left in the ground. To protect this new growth an enclosure (σηκός) had been thrown around, and a mutilated μωρία, when thus enclosed, was called a σηκός, which term signified both the tree and the land enclosed, as well as the enclosing boundary. The same term is applied to the enclosures of temples and holy places generally, in which category the μωρία belonged.

The present oration is the defence of a person, now of unknown name, who had been accused of removing one of these σηκοί, tree and all. He appears to have been a thrifty and influential landholder (§ 21), who, while not putting himself forward in politics, had fulfilled his duties as a citizen in a generous way (§ 31), yet had not escaped the envy and the enmity which a strong and successful man often provokes (§ 40). The accuser, Nicomachus, a young man, seems to have brought an utterly unfounded complaint, partly at the instigation of the enemies of the accused (§ 40), and partly in the hope of intimidating him to pay hush-money, in which expectation, however, he had been disappointed. He seems to be in a sorry plight with his case, having been obliged to abandon the original indictment, and to betake himself, in his address to the court, to a modified charge, in substantiation of which he has neither witnesses nor other evidence. The defendant, on the other hand, is able to produce witnesses enough to show that on the piece of ground alleged neither μωρία, nor σηκός, nor any tree at all, had stood while the place had been in his possession. This is quickly done, and in a technical and legal point of view it is sufficient to secure the defendant's acquittal. But it was a point of honor to win, if possible, a unanimous acquittal, and to come off with éclat. It not only conferred respect, but secured immunity from further attempts of sycophants, when the accuser failed to carry at least one fifth of the jury in his favor; as he thereby was subjected to a fine of 1,000 drachms (§ 181), and to partial ἀρμία. (See *General Note*, XXV. 3.) In the present case, therefore, the defendant does not rest content with having secured his acquittal; he means to leave his accuser not an inch to stand on. Accordingly, after having met the legal necessities of the case, he goes on, in the second and more discursive part of the oration, to exhibit, from various points of view, the tissue of improbabilities and absurdities involved in the charge,

the untrustworthiness of the accuser, and the utter weakness of his case.

The oration, as its title implies, was delivered before the senate of Areopagus (see *General Note*, XII. 2). The king-archon (see *General Note*, XII. 1) brought the case to trial, and presided. The date of the oration can be approximately determined. The alleged misdemeanor was committed (§ 11) when Suniades was archon, or B. C. 397. Blass dates the oration, at the earliest, B. C. 395.

#### GENERAL NOTE ON POINTS OF THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION TOUCHED IN THIS ORATION.

1. *Graphē* (γραφή) signifies in Attic law-language a public action as distinguished from *dike* (δική), or a private suit. (See *General Note*, XVI. 7.) In its common and limited application it is not inclusive of the *δοκιμασία*, or trial of qualifications (see *General Note*, XVI. 5), or of the *εἰσὶνῃ*, or trial of accountability (see *General Note*, XXV. 2). In a public action the prosecutor was ordinarily required to be an Athenian citizen with unimpaired civil rights. And with the exception that in special cases advocates (*συνήγοροι*, see *General Note*, XII. 4) were retained by the state, the public interest in the repression of offences against the commonwealth was left to volunteer accusers and to the juries. Says Curtius: "In the Attic free commonwealth it was in truth the mission of every citizen to exercise a control over public life, and to see, so far as in him lay, that no unwarrantable act was allowed to go without its punishment." (*Hist.*, V. pp. 249, 250.)

The proper court in which to bring an action was often determined by the nature of the case, e. g. the Areopagus had jurisdiction in cases of homicide and impiety. Yet the six generals (see XII. § 36) were tried before the assembly for the death of the wrecked at Arginusæ, and Socrates was tried before a dicastery on the charge of introducing new gods, etc. In an ordinary *graphē* the proceedings commenced with a summons to the accused to appear on a certain day before the magistrate. Next came the preliminary hearing (*ἀνάκρισις*), in which the parties respectively made oath to the justice of their cause, settled questions of form, jurisdiction, etc., with reference to the coming trial, and exhibited their evidence. After the *anacrisis*, the trial came

on at the end of a set time, but might be deferred by legal machinations. The evidence which had been given in was kept meanwhile under seal in the custody of an officer. If the plaintiff dropped his accusation, he was subject to a fine of 1,000 drachms and partial atimia. The indictment was termed *γραφή*, or (particularly in case there were several defendants) *ἀπογραφή*, and the defendant was said *γράφειν*, or *ἀπογράφειν*. At the trial, the aim of the parties was to work upon the jury by the addresses of the orators, as they presented the evidence which had been developed in the *anacrisis*.

2. *Slaves*. In the commercial cities of Greece slaves were very numerous, performing the work of the artisans and mechanics of modern towns. The number held in Attica was nearly three times the number of the free inhabitants. (See *General Note*, XII. 11.) Many persons kept gangs of slaves to let for all kinds of service. The condition of Greek slaves was more tolerable than that of Roman, and at Athens they seem to have been even more leniently treated than elsewhere. Especially during the Decelean War, B. C. 413-404, when slaves to the number of 20,000, chiefly mechanics, escaped to the Spartan fortress at Decelea, fourteen miles northeast of Athens, the Athenians, to limit the evil, were obliged to adopt the most considerate treatment of their domestic slaves. (Curtius, *Hist.*, III. p. 426.) At all times, however, a person who struck or abused a slave was liable to prosecution, and an abused slave could claim the right of being sold away from a hard master. Neither could a slave be put to death, except by process of law. But he was not permitted to give evidence in legal proceedings, except under torture. Any person might offer his own slave or demand that of his adversary to be examined by torture. The slave, however, was not obliged to be given up, nor was it the general practice so to do, although the refusal of this challenge (*πρόκλησις*) was sometimes regarded with suspicion. The damage suffered by the owner of the tortured slave was guaranteed by the party at whose instance the torture was applied, and this was often done in the presence of an arbitrator (*δαιτητής*, see *General Note*, XXV. 1). The depositions of the slaves were then read at the trial, and those who were present at the torture added their testimony in corroboration.

3. *Ephesis* (*ἐφήγησις*). This was the converse of the *apagoge* (*General Note*, XXV. 4). When one did not wish to incur the risk of forfeiting 1,000 drachms by an *apagoge* that might be proved

unwarrantable, he could have recourse to the *ephegesis*, conducting a magistrate or officers to the spot where the breach of law was going on, or where the culprit could be found. The cases in which these two kinds of process were common were murder, impiety, theft, ill-treatment of parents, etc.

## NOTES.

### VII.

#### ANALYSIS.

PART I. — TECHNICAL REPUTATION OF THE CHARGE, §§ 1-11.

PART II. — DEMONSTRATION OF ITS FRAUDULENCY, §§ 12-43.

I. — A. Introduction, §§ 1-3.

1. The injustice of the accusation, § 1.
2. Its vacillation, § 2, and
3. Its illegality, § 3.

B. Proposition, §§ 4-8: Proof to be furnished.

1. From *what date*, § 4.
2. To *what fact*, § 5.
3. Why no further, §§ 5-8.

C. Demonstration: Statement of facts, with the testimony, §§ 9-11.

II. — A. Introductory: The accuser admits that the defendant acts according to the *cui bono* principle, § 12.

B. Proposition: Whatever the defendant did must have been in accordance with the *cui bono*, § 12.

C. Demonstration, §§ 13-41.

1. From the *general principle* that such acts are not wantonly done. The bringer of such a charge is bound to show the *cui bono* of the act, § 13.
2. From the *particular results* to be expected, §§ 14-18.
  - a. *Negatively*, no supposable advantage to the defendant lay in such an act, nor could he have been ignorant of its consequences, § 14, but
  - b. *Positively*, publicity and punishment were inevitable, § 15.
    - a. Through betrayal by slaves, § 16, or
    - b. Through testimony of tenants, § 17, or
    - c. Through informations from passers-by, or neighbors, § 18.
3. *Conversely*, from the obvious interest of the accuser, which he has neglected, §§ 19-23, which was
  - a. Negatively, not bald accusation, § 19, but
  - b. Positively,
    - a. To summon passers-by to bear witness, § 20.  
Whose absence he absurdly charges to the defendant, § 21.
    - b. Or to call in the authorities, § 22.  
The neglect of which legal steps stamps a worthless case, § 23.

4. *Contrariwise*, §§ 24–30.
  - a. *What* breach of law self-interest might have tempted to, § 24.  
Which the defendant did not commit, § 25.  
And therefore cannot, as charged, have run a great risk for nothing, § 26.
  - b. *When* a breach of law might have been committed by him with impunity, but was not, § 27.
  - c. *Where* such a breach of law would have been most foolhardy, just there he has been charged with it, § 28.
  - d. *By whom* such a breach of law, if committed, must have been detected; yet only the accuser seems aware of it, § 29.  
All which facts no assertions of enemies should outweigh, § 30.
5. *From the analogy*, §§ 31, 32,  
Of his record as a munificent and public-spirited citizen, § 31.  
If he would not scrimp where it was safe and profitable, much less would he jeopard everything for nothing, § 32.
6. *From congruity*, § 33.  
A serious case should be settled by strong evidence, rather than by unsupported accusation, § 33.
7. *From the virtual admission of the accuser*, §§ 34–37.  
The defendant offered the accuser his slaves to be examined under torture as to the facts, § 34.  
Which offer he declined on frivolous grounds, § 35.  
Exposing thus the fraudulency of his charge, §§ 36, 37.
8. *Recapitulation of the improbabilities* in the accuser's case, § 38.  
Showing him to be a malicious and venal rascal, § 39,  
In sorry contrast with his own open and fearless attitude toward all, and set on by the defendant's enemies, § 40.
9. *The outrage contemplated*, § 41.
- D. *Conclusion*, §§ 42, 43.
  1. Restatement of the decisive point of the defence (as established in Part I.), § 42.
  2. Restatement of three decisive omissions of the accuser (as demonstrated in Part II.), which he must account for, before the court can give him their verdict, §§ 42, 43.

ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΙΤΙΚΟΣ, supply ΔΟΓΟΣ.

1. — βουλῇ; the full title of the senate of Areopagus was ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλῇ (XII., § 69). Sometimes it was also termed ἡ ἄνω βουλῇ, to distinguish it from the senate of Five Hundred, which held its sessions in the Agora below the hill. See *General Note*, XII. 2, and XVI. 3. — βουλευόμενος... ἄγοντι; observe the conditional force in each. — δίκας, see *General Note*, XVI. 7. — συκοφάνταις, see *General Note*, XII. 10. — ὥστ'... οἷόν τε, H., 856, a. — δεῖν... ἔσεσθαι; Francken thinks that this rather extravagant expression comes from some old proverb. So we say, "as innocent as the babe unborn." — ἔσεσθαι; for the present infinitive with μέλλω. see § 22, and G., 25, 2. — τοιούτους; as the present accuser, for instance.

— οἱ κίνδυνοι, "the [now so frequent] lawsuits," H., 527, a. With κίνδυνος in this sense compare the forensic application of the Latin *periculum*. — ἀδικοῦσι has the force of a perfect here, corresponding to ἡμαρτηκόσιν, H., 698, *fine print*. G., 10, N. 4.

2. — ἀγών, the general word for a legal action of any kind. — ὥστε ἀπεγράφην, the expression is condensed from something like the following: "that [I have not even a definite indictment to plead to, for] I was indicted," etc. — ἀφανίζαν, G., 15, 3. — μοριῶν, in full, μοριῶν ἐλαιῶν, § 29, also § 7. — νυνί, emphatic. The accuser in his address to the court had abandoned the original indictment by charging a different trespass, viz. the removal of a σηκός; therefore φασίν, referring to a verbal charge, is more appropriate than ἀπογράφονται. — ἀπελέγξαι, Rauchenstein's conjecture for the common ἀποδείξαι, an unstrained interpretation of which yields a meaning here incongruous. So Cobet.

3. — ἄμ' ὑμῖν...ἀκούσαντα; these words belong together. For the accused not to know what he was charged with until he came into court, was not according to due form of law. See note to κατηγοροῖς καὶ δικαστῆς, XII., § 81. — πατρίδος...οὐσίας; banishment and confiscation were the penalty. — δμως. Having a strong case, the defendant disdains to press the technical point just raised.

4. — Ἦν μὲν γάρ, "for this was in fact." — Πισάνδρου, see XXV., § 9, and note. — Ἀπολλόδωρος. He had taken part in the assassination of Phrynichus (for whom see XXV., § 9, and note) just before the downfall of the Four Hundred (see XII., §§ 42 and 66), and had been put to the torture to discover his accomplices. After the restoration of the democracy he was presented with distinguished rewards. See Curtius, *Hist.*, III., pp. 481, 490. — ὁ Μεγαρέως, see note on Μεγαράδε, XII., § 17. — Ἀντικλῆς, not otherwise known. Thucydides (I. 117) mentions an Athenian general of that name about B. C. 440. — εἰρήνης, after the surrender to Lysander, April, B. C. 404. For in the same year he let the place (§ 9) to Callistratus. — ἀνοῦμαι, G., 10, 2. Scheibe reads ἐωνοῦμην, which lacks the aoristic sense here requisite to correspond with λαβὼν and ἐξεμισθωσεν, and Cobet, ἐώνημαι, which incurs the same objection. The aorist middle of ἀνέομαι is supplied by ἐπριάμην.

5. — τοίνυν, H., 867, 4, "therefore," "then," "now," a particle of very frequent recurrence in this oration; often used to mark the advance of an argument, "now further," "but now"; quite seldom the first word of a clause. — χρόνου, G., 173. H., 577. Construe with ζημιοῦσθαι. — δικαίως, for the involved protasis, see note on μισεῖσθαι, XII., § 54. — δι' ἡμᾶς, see note on δι' ὑμᾶς, XII., § 58.

6. — τὰ μὲν πόρρω, i. e. not in the immediate neighborhood of the city. After the occupation by the Lacedæmonians (B. C. 413) of the fortress of



Declea, fourteen miles from Athens, one third of Attica was in the hands of the enemy. Observe the change of the construction from the τοῦ τὰ μὲν πόρρω...τέμνεσθαι, required by the preceding αἰτιος. — διηρπάξετο. Compare XIV., § 33, ὑμᾶς φεύγοντας Φυλὴν καταλαβεῖν καὶ δένδρεα τεμείν. The φίλοι were all who fought against the Thirty. — ἄλλως τε καί, H., 857. A participle or a causal conjunction usually follows. See § 36. — ἀπρακτον, "useless," suits the thought better than ἀπρατον, "not sold," which Cobet reads. For the verbal adjective, see H., 398. — πλεῖν ἢ τρία ἔτη = "three years and over," but less than four; πλείω ἢ = more than three years, possibly four.

7. — εὖ θαυματούν, G., 49, 2, N. 2. — τὰ ἡμέτερά αὐτῶν, G., 137, N. 1. H., 676, *fine print*. — ἡδυνάμεθα, G., 102, 1, N. H., 308, R. a. — δῶφ μάλιστα, G., 188, 2, *fine print*. H., 610, *fine print*. The common text is ὅσοι. But that is not the speaker's idea, namely, that *as many* of the court as gave particular attention to such things would understand him, but rather, that *the court itself*, by as much as such things were its special province, would understand.

8. — καὶ...τῶν αὐτῶν, "and even when," etc. — ἑτέρων, "if others," etc. — ἡ τοῦ, see XII., § 35, and *note*, also XXV., § 17. — ἀφ' ὑμῶν, construed with ἀξίμους. If construed with πριαμένους, the preposition would have been παρά.

9. — πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν, "though I could say much," G., 109, 7. — πρὶν...γινώσθαι, G., 274. H., 769. — ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου, H., 641, b. Pythodorus was First Archon under the Thirty, B. C. 404. After the restoration his name was struck off from the list of archons, and his year, instead of being called, according to custom, by his name, was called "the year of anarchy," ἡ ἀναρχία. He may be the same as the Pythodorus, son of Isolochus, who is mentioned occasionally as a general in the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. III. 115).

10. — οὗτοι = "here present." The persons named in this section are not known; unless, possibly, Proteas be the Proteas, son of Epicles, who was a naval commander in the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. I. 45). — τρία ἔτη; the common text connects these words with the foregoing thus: δε τέθνηκε ταῦτα τρία ἔτη. So Cobet and Scheibe. But the death of Alcias is mentioned only to account for his not being among the witnesses, and it was not the time since his death that was of consequence, but the time during which Proteas had leased the ground, as that covered the remainder of the period of the defendant's ownership up to the present. — ὁμοίως, "in the same condition," i. e. without trees, as before stated. — ἐμισθόσατο, H., 689, b.

11. — ὁ χρόνος οὗτος, i. e. the seven years thus accounted for. — γαργῶ, G., 10, 2. — Σονιάδου, archon B. C. 397, seven years after the lease in

the time of Pythodorus. — ἐργαζόμενοι, *G.*, 16, 2. — μμισθωμένοι, here pluperfect in signification, *G.*, 18, 4. — οἶόν τε... ἀφανίζαν: self-evident, and superfluous for argument, yet not unsuited to a gush of honest indignation. So νομίζω... ζημιούσθαι, § 5.

12. — Here begins the second part of the oration. See *Analysis*. — φάσκειεν... ἡγανάκτουν ἄν, *G.*, 62, Rem. and 30, 2. *H.*, 704. — δανόν, "sharp." — ἀκριβῆ, "close." — ἄν... βουλοίμην, *Lat. velim, G.*, 52, 2. *H.*, 752. Admirable is the dexterity with which the speaker turns the slur cast upon his character into a strong argument in his favor. See *Analysis*. — ἡγήσθε, *G.*, 44, 2. — ἔργοις ἐπχειρουν, *G.*, 187. *H.*, 605. The accusative is more rarely used with this verb. — ἐγγίγντο, supply ἄν. [τῷ]; in Francken's view, this results from a careless repetition of the last syllable of ἐγγίγντο. The article is out of place here, since the participle seems not to have a general reference, but to designate the speaker. — περιποιήσαντι, Kayser's emendation for the common text ποιήσαντι, which gives no antithesis to ἀφανίσαντι.

13. — ἀδικήσασιν, compare ἀδικούσι, § 1. The aorist is used, because the past commission of the illegal act is the point referred to, rather than the status of an ἄδικος resulting therefrom.

14. — τοῦ σηκοῦ ὄντος, *G.*, 278. *H.*, 790, c. Translate: "by the olive-trunk being there." — οἰκίας, *G.*, 182, 2. *H.*, 589. — κινδύνων, *G.*, 180, 1. *H.*, 584, c. For the article, see *H.*, 527, c. The next words in Cobet's text are as follows: εἰ τι τούτων ἐπραττον. Πολλὰς γὰρ ἄν, etc. — ἐπραττον... ἀποφθίναμι, *G.*, 54, 1.

15. — μεθ' ἡμέραν, *H.*, 645, PHRASES. — ἐξέκοπτον, *G.*, 11, N. 6, an assumed fact. — ὥσπερ... δέον, *G.*, 109, N. 9, 110, 2. οὐ belongs to λαθεῖν; translate: "as if it were needful, not to be unobserved by all, but that," etc. — καὶ here = καίτοι. — παριόντων, governed by ἡμέλησε. — ἐκινδύνουν, assumed, like ἐξέκοπτον above. Both of these verbs are logically in apodosis to an implied εἰ τι τοιούτων ἐπραττον.

16. — πῶς δ'. As a new argument and a strong one is here presented, we should have expected a more significant connective than the simple δέ, — perhaps καὶ μὲν δὴ, or ἀλλὰ μὴν... γε, or at least πρὸς δὲ τούτοις. But the artless style befits the simplicity of the speaker. — τοὺς ἑμᾶντοῦ θεράποντας; for the position of the genitive, see *H.*, 538, *sine print.* θεράπων is the general word for one who renders any service; δοῦλος is a person in a permanent condition of servitude; ὑπηρέτης (*XII.*, § 10) is a subordinate official, or in general an assistant. — συναδότης, *G.*, 109, 4. — εἰ καὶ, *H.*, 874, 2, a. — ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, the demonstrative is sometimes thus used in *oratio obliqua* instead of the reflexive pronoun. — μνηόσασιν, *G.*, 109, 2. — ἐλευθέροις γενέσθαι, see ἐξάρνοι γενέσθαι, and note, *XII.*, § 31.

17. — κινδύνῳ construed with εὐσης. For the asyndeton (*H.*, 854), com-

part XVI., § 16, ἐμβαλόντος ψηφισαμένων. — τοῖς εἰργασμένοις...προσῆκον, "it being alike incumbent on all those who had worked the place." — εἶχον, G., 44, 3.

18. — οἶός τ', G., 151, N. 4. H., 814. — ἀλλήλων depends on ταῦτα. — ἀποκρυπτόμενοι, G., 200, N. 2. H., 702, *sine print.* — καί, "even." — πυνθάνονται, "find out." — περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν, probably in regard to such matters as boundary lines, right of way, the trespassing of cattle, etc. The implication is, that if the defendant had really done anything which an enemy could take hold of, there were not wanting neighbors who would have availed themselves of the opportunity against him.

19. — οὕτως qualifies the whole phrase, τολμηρὰς...ποιεῖσθαι. — ἐξέτεμον, imperfect, because the cutting was done, as charged, *while* the defendant stood by. — ἀναθέμενος, i. e. upon the cart, ἀμαξα. — ἄχετο ἀπάγων, G., 279, N. See XII., § 75. Compare the colloquial English, "went and carried" = simply "carried."

20. — Νικόμαχος; the Nicomachus against whom Lysias wrote Or. XXX. had held office before the time of the Thirty Tyrants, but this Nicomachus, is evidently (see § 29) a different person. — μάρτυρας, predicate-accusative, G., 166, N. 2. H., 556, a. — ἐν...τρόπῃ, the preposition is not necessary, G., 188. H., 608. — ἐβούλον...ἑλαβες; what difference here in the signification of the imperfect and aorist?

21. — πείσαι, instead we might have had πείσας, agreeing with the subject of ἡγοῦμην, or πείσαντι, agreeing with μοί. — ἐπὶ...δυνάμει, H., 656, c.

22. — φήνας μ' ἰδών; the common text is φήσας μ' ἰδεῖν, to which Rauchenstein objects that φήσας is hardly a demonstrable Attic form: φήνας is the proper term for informing against a person before a magistrate. — τοὺς ἐννέα ἀρχοντας, that is, any one of them, but specially the king-archon is meant, who had jurisdiction in such cases. See *General Note*, XII., 1. — ἐπήγαγε, see *General Note*, 3. — οὕτω, the common text, for which Rauchenstein reads οὕτοι. But οὕτω is preferable on account of the implied protasis, G., 52, 1, as the argument has been proceeding on the ground that it would have been better for Nicomachus to do so and so. — συνῆδσαν...λέγοντι, "would have known that you spoke the truth."

23. — δεινότατα...δοῦ; "now I am very strangely treated, inasmuch as." — πιστεύειν, subject ὑμᾶς understood. — οὐκ εἰσὶν: whenever εἰμί "signifies actual existence, it retains the tone. The 3 sing., especially, then takes the tone on the first syllable." *Buttmann's Gr.*, § 108, IV. 3. — αὐτῷ ἐμοί: observe the juxtaposition of these pronouns in sharp antithesis. — ταύτην τὴν ζημίαν, the common text, which Scheibe retains, while Rauchenstein and Cobet omit τὴν. If τὴν be omitted, ταύτην is subject and ζημίαν predicate to γενέσθαι, ταύτην being attracted from τοῦτο, as in XXV., § 13 (see *note*). If τὴν be retained, — and there appears no con-

clusive reason for the omission, — then τ. τ. ζ. is simply the subject of γενέσθαι. — τούτου, masculine, not neuter; as the μέν shows the pronoun to be in antithesis with the following ἐμᾶς δ'. — δήπου, see XII., § 27, and note. — συκοφαντῶν, participle. — ἀπορήσα; for its position between the two genitives, compare note on δέξαιτ', XXV., 24. Cobet reads εὐπορήσει.

24. — πεδίω; this was the broad "Athenian Plain," watered by the Cephissus, and stretching westward of the city to that Mount Ægaleos, from which Xerxes witnessed the battle of Salamis, and on the farther side of which lay the plain of Eleusis. This central plain of Attica, in the midst of which the city stands, extends N. to Mt. Parnes, with its celebrated fortresses of Phyle and Decelea, N. E. to Mt. Pentelicus, famed for its marble, and S. E. to Mt. Hymettus, noted for its honey. "The plain of Athens is barren and destitute of vegetation, with the exception of the long stream of olives which stretch from Mt. Parnes by the side of the Cephissus to the sea." Smith's *Dict. Geog.* — πυρκαϊάς; probably trees which, after being burnt, had sprung up as wild olives. See Virg. *Geor.*, II. 303–314:

"Infelix superat foliis oleaster amaris."

— ἐπεργάσασθαι, "to encroach upon," i. e. by tillage. See *Introd.* — ἦπτον qualifies δῆλον.

25. — περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεαι, "I prize." *G.*, 10, N. 1; comp. ποιούμεαι... ἡγοῦμαι, § 26. — τὴν ἄλλην: for the *appositive* use of ἄλλος, see H., 538, e. Compare Xen. *Anab.*, I. 5, 5: οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον οὐδέν. The thought is: I cared for those trees as for my country and fortune, considering that, if I trespassed, my risk involved both of these. — μηνός, referring to their monthly meetings.

26. — οὐτω... ποιούμεαι, "care so much for." — ποιούμεαι... ἡγοῦμαι, see note on ἡγοῦντο... ἐποιοῦντο, XII., § 7. — ἐξῆν... οἷόν τ' ἦν, *G.*, 49, 2, N. 3. — ἀφανίζω; Rauchenstein reads ἀφανίζω, ὡς νυνὶ κρίνομαι. But the common text corresponds better with the parallelism of the whole sentence, and specially with οὕτω θεραπεύων φαίνομαι. The interrogation begins at καὶ τὰς μέν, — μέν signifying "while," or "seeing that." Compare note on μαχομένους μέν, XII., § 79.

27. — Πότερον δέ, a new argument. For the introductory δέ, compare note on πῶς δ', § 16. — παρανομεῖν; for the position, see note on ἀπορήσει, § 23. — οὐ λέγω ὥς, "I do not mean that." The remark just made had to be guarded against an unfavorable inference. The course of thought requires δυνάμενος to be taken absolutely, in the sense of "influential," as in XXV., § 14, οἱ τότε δυνάμενοι. — μᾶλλον ἐξῆν, all the more since the authority of the Areopagus remained in abeyance during the tyrants' time. Compare XXV., § 16.

28. — Πῶς δ', a new argument, still introduced by the insignificant δέ.

— ἐκ τούτου, observe the emphatic position. — ὥς...εἶναι, "as this man says there was," *G.*, 15, 3. — τίς ἂν ἀπετάλμῃσιν; "who would have had the foolhardiness?"

29. — Δεινόν, "strange." — ἐπιμελείσθαι; for the omission of the article τὸ, see *G.*, 91. — ἐπιμελητῆς; the relation of the ἐπιμεληταὶ to the γνώμονες is uncertain, but it is not unlikely that the former were a committee of the Areopagus upon all matters pertaining to the olive-trees, and that the γνώμονες, or inspectors, made their reports to them. — εἰδέναι, *G.*, 92, 1, *N.* 2. ὥστε might have been prefixed, *G.*, 286. *H.*, 770. — ἀπογράψαι; Rauchenstein prefers to read ἀπογράφασθαι, on the ground that the middle is the proper technical term for an indictment, while the active rather means to inform against. This does not seem sufficient ground for changing the common text, the technical distinction being of no importance in the argument, which is, simply, that the accuser claimed to have made a discovery which he was the last man in the world to have made.

30. — λόγους, "accusations." See *XII.*, § 2, and *XXV.*, § 2. — ταῦτ', here emphasized, depends on λεγόντων. — ἀνασχέσθαι may govern either a genitive or an accusative. — ἐνθυμουμένους ἐκ, the participle is used absolutely (*H.*, 495), "reflecting (on the subject)," while the preposition denotes the point of view. See the construction in *XVI.*, § 20. — πολιτείας, "my conduct as a citizen."

31. — προθυμότερον...ὥς; ὥς must be translated here like ἤ. Cobet and others insert ἤ before ὥς. Buttmann, *Gr.*, § 149, 7, remarks: "Less accurately, and with a certain anacoluthon, instead of ἤ, after comparatives we find ὥς (ὅσον, οἷον)." — ἡναγκαζόμεν, see *XX.*, § 13, and note on προσταττομένων. — τριηραρχῶν...πολιτῶν, see *XXV.*, § 12, and notes. Compare also *XII.*, § 20. — οὐδενὸς ἦττον; the negative belongs to the adjective.

32. — ποιῶν, equivalent to εἰ ἐποίουν, referring to the actions as habitual; while the aorist would refer to them as past occurrences. — μή qualifies an implied ποιῶν. — τῆς ἄλλης, see τὴν ἄλλην, and note, § 25. — πράξας, observe the force of the aorist in contrast with ποιῶν, above. — ἐκέρδαινον, *du* omitted. Compare ἐνοχος ἦν, § 37. — καθίστην; the other co-ordinate tenses being imperfect with reference to time present (ἡγωνιζόμεν = "should be on trial"; ἐκέρδαινον = "should be gaining"), this tense, which might naturally have been an aorist like πράξας, follows suit by a kind of assimilation, and = "should be endangering myself," i. e. as the facts came out in the present trial. Compare συνελάμβανες, and note, *XII.*, § 26.

33. — μεγάλων, i. e. such important interests as home and fortune, § 25. — περὶ ὧν...μαρτυρεῖ, *H.*, 810; this clause stands as the direct object of ἡγεῖσθαι, which has πιστότερα for predicate-accusative. — μᾶλλον, pleonastic, *H.*, 665, b. — ἡ περὶ ὧν, the regular form would be ἡ ἀ...κατηγορεῖ, but Lysias, as often, prefers to parallel the preceding construction. Com-

pare note on *αισθάνεσθαι*, XXV., § 23. — *κατηγορεῖ*, in *homoeoteleuton* with *μαρτυρεῖ*. See XXV., § 24, *πονηρίαν*, and note.

34. — *συνέφασθε*, H., 495. — *ἐχων*, G., 109, N. 8, last clause. — *πάντες*, emphasized by its position, since the value of the proposal lay in this word. — *βασανίζαν*, see *General Note*, 2. — *οὕτως*, G., 52, 1. — *λόγων... ἔργων*, a contrast repeatedly made prominent in this oration, see §§ 21, 30, 33, 43. This was one of Lysias's characteristic points as a reasoner. See also XII., §§ 5, 33, XVI., § 19, XXV., § 13.

35. — *οἰδέν*, H., 848, a. — *δεινὸν... εἰλοντο*; a difficult construction. Rauchenstein conjectures, unnecessarily, that *εἰλοντο* has been substituted for *ἐλουντο*. Logically, this belongs to the protasis introduced by *εἰ μὲν*. But *δὲ* marks *εἰλοντο*, in form at least (comp. G., 49, N. 4, b), as an apodosis to some implied protasis after *περὶ δέ*; but [should they so accuse themselves] they would have chosen to shield their hated masters, etc. H., 886. Compare G., 49, 2, N. 5. — *πεφύκασι*, G., 200, N. 6. H., 712.

36. — *καὶ μὲν δὴ*, XII., § 30, note. — *συνεδέναι*; some such participle as *ἀδικῶν* (or *ἀδικούντι*, G., 113, N. 6) may be supplied. — *παραδιδόντος*; this expresses the *offer*, rather than the actual delivery, G., 10, N. 2. See *ἀποκρυπτόμενοι* and note, § 18. — *σχέιν*, “to form”; H., 708: “to hold an opinion” is *γνώμην ἔχειν*, §§ 12, 23. See also XXV., §§ 1, 3. — *ἄλλως τε καί*; see § 6, and note.

37. — *περὶ ἐμοῦ... τοῦτο*; notice the emphatic position of each of the contrasted pronouns. — *ἐνοχος ἦν*, G., 49, 2, N. 2. Compare *ἐκέρδαιον*, § 32. But if slaves were subjected to torture *en demand* of the opposite party, he had to indemnify the owner. — *πολὺ... προσήκειν*, “it was much more *his duty* to accept, than *my interest* to offer.” — *εἰς τοῦτο προθυμίας*, i. e. the challenge to examine the slaves. — *μετ’ ἐμοῦ*, “for my advantage.” — *μαρτύρων*; Rauchenstein changes the common text here to *μαρτυριῶν*.

38. — *ἐνθυμείσθαι δὲ χρή*. How does this tense present the conception of time as contrasted with that in *ἐνθυμηθῆναι δὲ χρή*, XXV., § 21? — *οἷς*, referring to himself as representing a *class*, who, with strong evidence in their favor, are audaciously accused by sycophants. — *τετόλημκε*; supply *μαρτυρεῖν*. — *καὶ πρότερον*; before these words supply *ἐνθυμείσθαι χρή*. — *αἰτιάσασθαι*, the common text, preferable to Kayser's emendation *αἰτιάσθαι*, which Rauchenstein adopts. See G., 23, 2. But the connected *βοηθεῖν* is present, because denoting the continuous action of the accuser in endeavoring to make good his *alria*.

39. — *ἀγών*, G., 159. H., 547, a. — *ὥς* belongs to *ἐλπίζων*. — *δσφ*, see *δσφ μάλιστα*, § 7, and note. — *ἀπορώτατοι τῶν κινδύνων*, literally, “completely without means to extricate themselves from dangers,” is equivalent to our colloquial phrase, “hard up.” — *τούτω* = *τοσοῦτω*.

40. — *πυρέσχον ἑμαντόν*, H., 688, a. So in § 41. — *διηλλάγην*, so strong

was his case that he felt no need of gaining favor. — οὐ...ἐπαινοῦσι, a strong remark, showing the honest farmer himself to be "a good hater." — καὶ φανερός; καί here, as in § 15, = καίτοι.

41. — γνοίμην, εἰ...καταστήσομαι, *G.*, 54, 1, b. — ναυμαχίας...μάχας, a customary argument, especially of those who lacked stronger ones. See XXV., § 12. — κόσμιον, the common term for, as we say, "a respectable citizen." See XVI., § 18; XII., § 20. — ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, see XXV., § 7, and *note*.

42. — Ἀλλὰ γάρ, *H.*, 870, d, see XII., § 99, supply παύσομαι λέγων. — ἐνθάδε, speakers before the Areopagus were expected to keep to the facts, with less latitude of appeal than in other courts. — ἀπέδεξα δ'; δέ here = "for," as in XII., § 68, ὑπέσχετο δέ. — ἐπ' αὐτοφόρῳ, i. e. by the *ephegesis*, § 22.

43. — πιστὸς γινέσθαι, *H.*, 398, "to be believed." — ἔργois; because witnesses would have given his words the weight of facts. — ἀδικοῦντα, supply με. — διδόντος, see *note* on παραδιδόντος, § 36. — φησὶ παραγενέσθαι, see § 19.

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE.

It is open to question whether the unusual γνώμην σchein of § 36 may not have arisen from a misreading of an original ἔχων, through the similarity between ε and c, an ancient form of Σ. I am indebted for this suggestion to my learned friend Dr. Ezra Abbot, of Cambridge.

## A TABLE

Showing the variations of RAUCHENSTEIN's text from that of  
C. SCHEIBE (*editio altera aucta et emendata*), as published by  
TEUBNER, 1874.

*Scheibe's reading stands first in each passage.*

XVI. 2. ἡ κακῶς — [ ]. 3. ἐπιδείξω — ἀποδείξω... οὐτ' ἐπεδήμουν — [ ].  
4. καθαιρουμένων — *add* ἐπεδήμουν. 5. σχόντες — έχοντες... καὶ τοῖς μη-  
δέν — *om.* τοῖς. 6. ἐπιγεγραμμένοι — ἐγγεγραμμένοι. 7. παραλαβόντα  
— καταβαλόντα. 9. ταύτης — αὐτῆς. 11. ἡ περὶ τὰς — ἡ ἐτέρας. 13. πρὸς  
τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς — [ ] τοὺς... εἶναι δεῖν — [ ] δεῖν. 15. ἐθανόντων — ἀποθα-  
νόντων... ὕστερον — ὅστερος... Στειριῶς — Στειριῶς. 18. τολμᾷ — κομᾷ.  
19. περιερχόμενοι — ἀμπερχόμενοι. 20. τῶν τῆς — τὰ τῆς. 21. τούτους —  
τοὺς τοιούτους.

XII. 3. ποιῆσμαι — ποιήσομαι. 5. πονηροὶ μὲν — [ ] μὲν... φάσκον-  
τες δέ — *om.* δέ. 6. τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν — τὴν ἀρχὴν δέ. 11. ὠμολόγησα —  
ὠμολόγητο... ἀργυρίου τέσσαρας — ἀργυρᾶς τέτταρας. 12. δπη — δποι...  
εἰς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ — εἰς τὰδελφοῦ. 15. ἡγούμην μὲν, εἰ — ἡγούμην, εἰ μὲν.  
18. οὐδεμᾶς — πρῆξ [ἐξ]... κλισιον — κλεισιον. 20. οὐκ ἂν — οὐδ' ἂν.  
... πάσας — πάσας μὲν... λυσαμένους · τοιούτων — λυσαμένους τοιούτων.  
21. τῆς πόλεως — [ ]. 25. ἐγίνοντο — ἐγίγνοντο... ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν;  
— ἵνα ἀποθάνωμεν ἢ μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν; 26. ἀποκτείναις; — ἀποκτείνεαις...  
...δοῦναι — πρῆξ [δεῖν]. 27. ἐπεὶ τοι τῷ — ἔπειτα τῷ... [ἐναντίαν] γνῶμην  
— *om.* [ἐναντίαν]. 28. ὑμᾶς εἰκός — ἱταπρὸς. 30. σήξαι τε αὐτὸν καὶ  
— σώξαι αὐτὸν κατὰ... πάντες — πᾶσιν... 31. οἶδόν τ' — οἶδόντ'. 34. ἐτύχετε  
— ἐτυγχάνετε... ἀπεψηφίσασθε — ἀπεψηφίξεσθε. 35. τιμαρουνίους —  
κηδομένους. 38. ἐστὶ — ἐστίν... φίλας — φίλαις. 39. ἦν τινα — ἦντινα.  
40. οἶα τῆς — οἶα τὰ τῆς. 41. ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν — ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. 42. ἐπραττε  
— ἐπραττεν. 44. ψηφίσαισθε — ψηφιεῖσθε. 45. γὰρ καὶ — γὰρ [κα].  
48. ἐχρῆν ἂν — [ ] ἂν... γίνεσθαι — γίγνεσθαι. 50. τῷ λόγῳ — τοῖς λό-  
γοις. 51. ὁπότεροι — *add* [μῖνοι]... ἀρξουσιν — ἀρξουσιν. 52. εἰ γὰρ  
— καὶ γὰρ εἰ... κάλλιον ἂν — [ ] ἂν... ἐγίνοντο — ἐγίγνοντο. 55. ὁ τῶν  
τριάκοντα γενόμενος — [ ]. 56. οἷς καὶ — ᾧ καὶ... θᾶσσον — θάττον.  
57. ἀδίκως ἐφευγον, ὑμεῖς δικαίως — δικαίως ἐφευγον, ὑμεῖς ἀδίκως... ἀδίκως,  
οἱ τριάκοντα δικαίως — δικαίως, οἱ τριάκοντα ἀδίκως. 62. παρασπῆ —  
προσπῆ. 66. γινομένους — γιγνομένους. 67. ἀπάλεσε — ἀπώλεσεν.  
68. αὐτῷ — αὐτῇ. 71. λεγόμενος — ὠμολογημένος. 72. ἀπειλοὶ — δια-



πειλοῖτο. 75. δὲ ἔχοντο — δ' ἔχοντο. 76. παρηγγέλλετο — παρήγγελλτο.  
 77. δὲ αὐτόν — δι' αὐτόν....πίστεας αὐτός — πίστεις αὐτοῖς. 78. ἥδη — δις.  
 79. τουτουῖ — τούτου....μαχομένους [μέν] — om. [ ]. 81. Κατηγόρηται  
 δὴ — Κατάγνωτε δέ. 82. ἀκρίτους ἀπέκταναν — *transposse*. 83. δημεύ-  
 σαιτε — δημεύσετε....οίκας — *prefix* τάς. 84. παρ' αὐτῶν — *add* [ἀξίαν].  
 85. τῶν [τε] πεπραγμένων — om. [ ]. 86. ξυνερούντων — *συνερούντων*.  
 87. τὸ ὑμέτερον πλήθος — τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους. 88. ἀπαλέσασιν — ἀπω-  
 λέσασι. 89. ῥάδιον — ῥᾶον. 90. δείξατε — δείξετε. 98. γίνεται — γίγνεται.  
 99. [οὐδέν] — om. [ ]. 100. καταψηφισθαι — κατεψηφισμένους ἐσεσθαι.

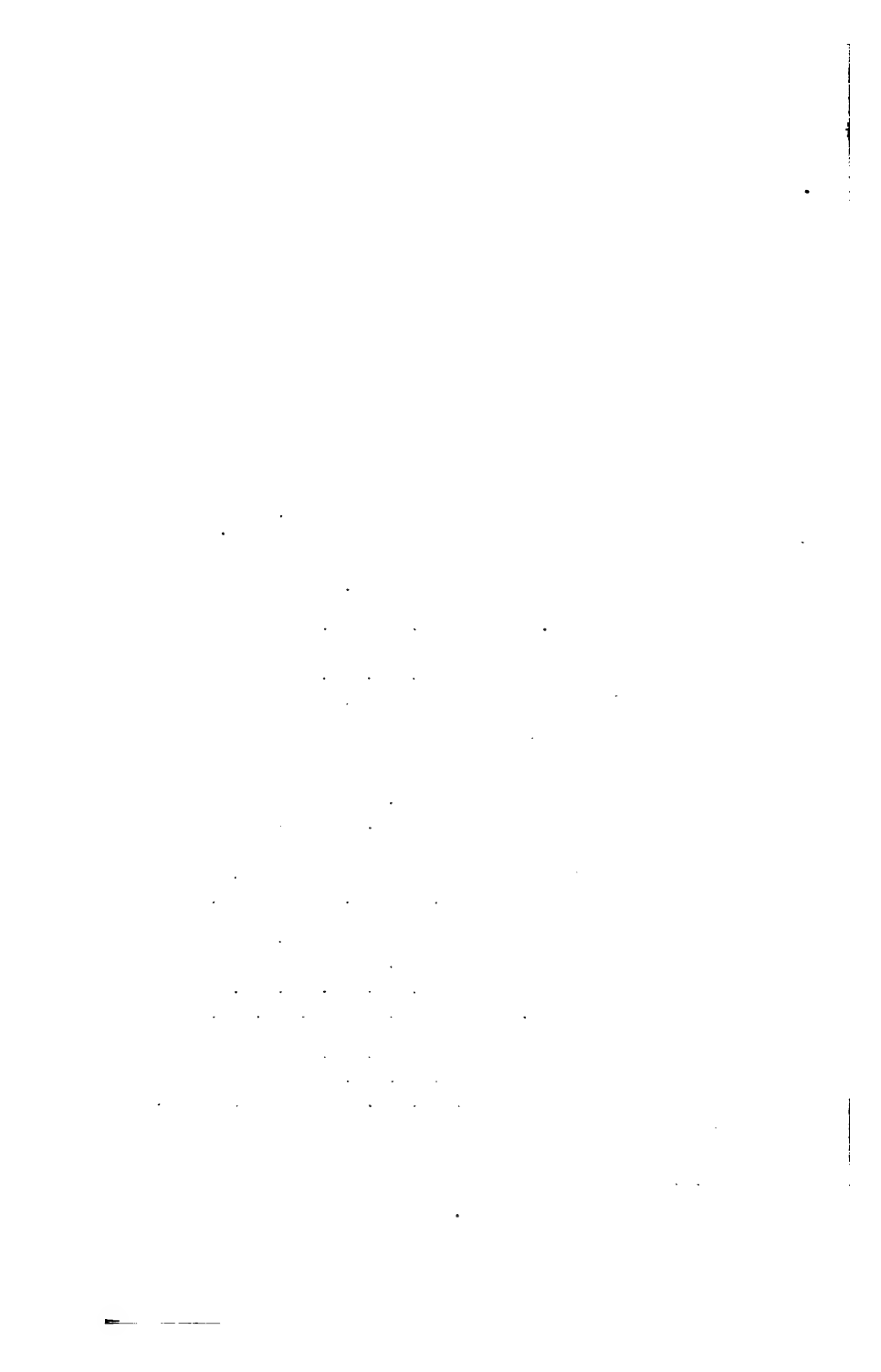
XXV. 1. οἱ σαφῶς — καὶ σαφῶς...ζητοῦσι — ζητοῦσιν....κερδαίνειν ἥ  
 — [ ]. 2. ὁμοῦ — [πάνθ' ὁμοῦ]. 4. ἀποφανῶ — ἀποφῆνω. 5. τεκμήριον  
 — *prefix* [έμοι]. 7. δημοκρατίας — *prefix* οὐς....κἀγὼ περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ τὴν  
 ἀπολογίαν ποιήσομαι, ἀποφαίνων — [ ]. 9. προστάνας — *προστάτας*....  
*μετεβάλλοντο* — *μετεβάλλοντο*. 10. ζητούντας — *ζηλοῦντας*....οὕτως — οὕτω.  
 11. τὰς τούτων — τὰς περὶ τούτων. 12. ἧς τινος — ἧσιν. 13. γίνοιτο  
 — γένοιτο....ἀλλὰ [καὶ] ἐκ — ἀλλὰ ἐκ. 14. οὕτως — οὕτω. 19. τῶν ὀλί-  
 γων — [ ] τῶν....κοινὰ γίγνεσθαι — *transposse*. 20. περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν — [ ].  
 22. δὲ πυνθάνοισθε — δ' ἐπυνθάνεσθε....δὲ ἄλλους — *transposse*....ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν  
 — ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. 27. διετέθητε· τοὺς — διετέθητε ὥστε τοὺς....γίνεται —  
 γίγνεται....πολλάκις χρῆσθαι — om. πολλάκις....παιδομένοις — *prefix* πολ-  
 λάκις. 29. ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ — ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ἐν ὀλι-  
 γαρχίᾳ. 30. ὑποψίαν — ὑποψίας. 31. οὕτως — οὕτω. 32. καὶ τούτων  
 — καίτοι τούτων. 33. τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς κινδύνους — ἐκ Πειραιῶς [κινδύνους].  
 ...σωτηρία — σωτήρια....ἐπιλύσεσθαι — ὑποδύσεσθαι....τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες —  
 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δέισαντες. 35. εἰς ὑπο... — εἰς ὑποψίαν καταστήσετε...

VII. 2. οἰόμενοι — ἡγούμενοι. 4. τῶν θντων δ' ἐκείνων — δὲ τῶν ἐκεί-  
 νου....ἑνωσύνην — ὠνοῦμαι. 5. μυρίαί — μορίαί. 6. πλεῖον — πλεῖν.  
 7. ὅσοι — ὅσῳ. 10. εἰργάσατο ἐνιαυτόν — om. ἐνιαυτόν....τέθηκε ταῦτα  
 τρία ἔτη· ὁμοίως — τέθηκε· κᾶτα τρία ἔτη ὁμοίως. 12. ἐγένετο — ἐγίγνετο.  
 τῷ ἀφανίσαντι — [ ] τῷ...τῷ ποιήσαντι — [τῷ] *περιποιήσαντι*. 13. ἐγένετο  
 — ἐγίγνετο. 14. παρ' ὑμῖν — παρ' ὑμῶν....κινδύνων, εἰ τι τούτων ἔπραττον.  
 πολλὰς — κινδύνων. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ τι τοιοῦτον ἔπραττον, πολλὰς. 16. οἶόν τε  
 ἦν δίκην με — οἷός τε ἦν δίκην....εἰδένην — ᾔδειν. 17. σφόν — σὼν....παρέ-  
 δεσαν. — παρέδεσαν; 18. [τοὺς παριόντας ἥ] — om. [ ]. 22. φήσας μ'  
 ἰδεῖν — φήρας μ' ἰδών....οὕτω — οὕτοι. 23. ὅς — ὅσῳ....ταύτην τὴν — ταύ-  
 την....τοιούτων γε — τοιούτων τε. 25. καὶ τὴν πατρίδα — [ ]....ἐξημῶσεν  
 — ἐξημῶσέ μ'. 26. ὡς ἀφανίζων νυνὶ κρίνομαι; — ἀφανίζω, ὡς νυνὶ κρίνο-  
 μαί. 27. τοιοῦτο — τοιούτων. 29. ζημῶσαι — ζημιῶσαι με....ἀπογράφαι  
 ἀπογράφασθαι. 36. ξυνεδέναι — *συκιδέναι*. 37. ἤλεγχον — ἔλεγχον, ἃ οὗτος  
 ἐβούλετο....ἠμολόγουν, ἃ οὗτος ἐβούλετο — ὠμολόγουν....μαρτύρων — μαρ-  
 τυρίων. 38. αἰτιάσασθαι — αἰτιάσθαι. 39. τοσούτῳ — τούτῳ. 41. ἀθλιό-  
 τατος ἄν — *transposse*.

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